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FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH IN THE FREER COLLECTION

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TORONTO

FRAGMENTS

FROM THE

CAIRO GENIZAH

IN THE

FREER COLLECTION

08.44

EDITED BY

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

AND

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PREFACE

The documents from the Cairo Genizah published in this volume were obtained by Mr Charles L. Freer in Egypt in 1908. They now form a part of the collections in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

In December, 1906, Mr Freer had purchased at Gizeh the now well-known Greek manuscripts of Deuteronomy and Joshua, the Gospels and the Psalms, and fragments of a manuscript of the Epistles of Paul. A report upon them was made by Professor Henry A. Sanders at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Chicago at the end of December, 1907. Much interest was aroused; and since it seemed probable that the manuscripts had been found in the ruins of a monastery and had formed a part of a monastic library, Mr Freer resolved to spare no effort to obtain other portions of the same collection in case such should have been brought to light. With this in mind, he made a special trip to Egypt in 1908. The most diligent inquiry, however, failed to elicit information that would lead to the recovery of other Greek manuscripts of value; but in his quest Mr Freer did secure some Coptic parchments, in which was included a Psalter, and the Genizah fragments.

The Coptic Psalter was handed to me by Mr Freer in Detroit on September 15, 1908. A few days later his Curator brought to me at the University of Michigan the remaining Coptic leaves and the Genizah documents. All this material was at once examined by Dr William H. Worrell. The Coptic Psalter and the other leaves afterwards were published by Mr Worrell in Volume X of the Humanistic Series of the University of Michigan Studies; in the same series, Volumes VIII and IX, Mr Sanders had already published the Greek manuscripts.

Learning of the presence of the Genizah documents in Detroit, and appreciating, as few scholars would, their value as source material for the history of an obscure but important period, Professor Richard Gottheil in 1912 undertook to prepare them for publication. He had accomplished the extremely difficult task of transcribing the texts when the war broke out. Responding to the call of duty, with much personal sacrifice and risk to health, he devoted himself to humanitarian work in New York until the Armistice, and beyond.

Resuming his preparation of the Genizah material as soon as possible, he finished the first draft of the translation of nearly all the documents, and had commenced the preparation of notes, when an accumulation of work, due to having been called to spend an academic year at the University of Strasbourg, obliged him to ask to be relieved from further responsibility for the completion of the volume.

Very reluctantly the request of Professor Gottheil was granted, and he placed all the material in the hands of Professor Worrell in November, 1924. It is not possible to distinguish by marks the work of the two scholars, but for the final form of the volume Professor Worrell is alone responsible. Professor Gottheil personally examined certain Genizah documents in the Taylor-Schechter, Bodleian, British Museum and Paris Consistoire collections; and his name is therefore given with the observations bearing upon these collections. Similarly his name is mentioned in a number of other instances in which Mr Worrell was unable to verify sources or to express a personal opinion. Dr Samuel Feigin worked out No. XLIV independently, and that number has been printed just as it came from his pen, entirely upon his responsibility.

Professor A. Marx, Professor Ginzberg, and Professor Israel Davidson, all of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Mr David Yellin, of Jerusalem, and Mr B. Chapira, of Paris, assisted Professor Gottheil with particular matters which have been acknowledged in their place. Mr Leon Nemoy, of Yale University, verified references to books in distant libraries. Anne MacKenzie Worrell gave vital assistance with references, analyses, manuscript, and proof. The Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, the Case Memorial Library, Hartford, Ct., the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and the University of Michigan, loaned books of reference. To all of these the editors unite in expressing their indebtedness.

The heliotype plates of the volume were executed by the Heliotype Company, in Boston, under the direction of Mr W. C. Ramsay. The cost of publication was defrayed from the Freer Research and Publication Fund of the University of Michigan.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY.

University of Michigan,
July 10, 1926.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

i. The Cairo Genizah

THE Hebrew word *genīzāh* means "safe-keeping," "hiding," "archive," "treasury," "hiding-place." Specifically it means a depository where worn-out, heretical, or disgraced books, written or printed, useless documents and letters, or other objects of pious solicitude, are stored.

Genizahs among Jews, and similar institutions among Christians, owe their origin doubtless to the feeling that objects hallowed by religious or personal use and association may not be destroyed even though they have ceased to be useful. Fear of profanation leads to the practice of hiding them, in walls or attics, in the ground, or with the dead, in order that, like the beloved dead, they may remain forever safe until obliterated by Time, under the dispensation of Providence. In Europe and elsewhere a corner of the graveyard was set apart for this purpose[2]. There is such a place in Florence[3], marked by an appropriate inscription. In the ancient Coptic "Red Monastery" at Sohaj worn-out prayer-books, vestments, and altar-paraphernalia are thrown into a pit. The theological motivation among the Jews is the protection of the Divine Name from desecration. Genizah papers are indeed sometimes called *shemōth*, "names." Islam shows a similar solicitude for any piece of writing or printing, because it almost certainly contains the Name of God[4].

The word *genīzāh* has now become a proper name, designating the literary limbo of the ancient Synagogue of Elijah[5] in Old Cairo. The Genizah and its contents have had a long history which unfortunately cannot yet be written because of the incompleteness and hear-say character of the evidence. From the account of Mr E. N. Adler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 612 ff., we learn that the Synagogue was originally a Christian church, bearing the name of St Michael. Chosroes, partly as an enemy of the faith of Byzantium, and partly no doubt as the heir of Cyrus, in 616 turned the Synagogue over to the Jews. Benjamin of Tudela visited it in the twelfth century, and thought it a very ancient place. The great Egyptian

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[1] Large Roman numerals in parentheses indicate the fragments in the Freer collection; and Arabic numerals in parentheses indicate the pages of the present volume.

[2] For genizah ceremonies see *Revue des Écoles de l'Alliance*, 1901, p. 103.

[3] Cf. *Giornale della Società Asiatica*, 1918–20, p. 97.

[4] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ch. xiii.

[5] Or Ezra, or Moses. See also the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 60 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, pp. 187 ff.; Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. x, p. 89; also the many articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

antiquary, al-Maḳrīzī (A.D. 1364–1442), writes: "Synagogue of the Syrians: This synagogue is in the street of Ḳaṣr al-Sham', of the city of Cairo, and it is ancient. There is an inscription above its door, in the Hebrew writing, engraven in the wood, to the effect that it was built in the year 336 of Alexander (A.D. 24), which is about 45 years before the second destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus (A.D. 70), and 600 years before the Hijrah (A.D. 622). And in this synagogue there is a copy of the Law which all agree to be entirely in the handwriting of the Prophet Ezra." No doubt Mann is right, and we are to understand that the inscription read "(1)336" of the Seleucid Era, which is A.D. 1024 (*The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, vol. ii, p. 375). Simon van Geldern at about 1750, and Jacob Saphir in 1864, both saw the Synagogue and its genizah, and recognised the value of their treasures.

Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis tells us casually[6] that the first known Genizah leaves were brought to Europe by Dr Lansing; but there appears to be no support for the statement. Mr E. N. Adler in 1888 visited the Synagogue; but he did not succeed in seeing the contents of the Genizah, for he was told that they had been buried. In the early nineties Professor Gottheil used to see the desk of Dr Neubauer, the sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, covered with portions of books which Dr Neubauer told him had come from the East, his professional discretion not permitting him to disclose their exact source. The Bodleian catalogue makes the statement that in 1890 the Rev. J. Chester bought some leaves in Cairo for the Bodleian Library, and adds that "the credit of first recognising their possible value to Hebrew literature belongs to Dr Neubauer." In *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Semitic Series, parts 4–6, Medieval Jewish Chronicles II, 1895) Dr Neubauer published a chronicle which had evidently come from the Cairo Genizah[7]. In January, 1896, Mr Adler again came to Egypt, and, with the knowledge and help of the Chief Rabbi of Egypt, he took away a sackful of parchment and paper leaves.

On May 13th, 1897, Dr Schechter observed in a bundle of fragments brought from southern Palestine by Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, a time-worn leaf of the lost Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus[8]. With the promptness which was characteristic of him, Professor Schechter set out immediately for Cairo with the single purpose of bringing back the entire contents of the Genizah to Cambridge. Armed with an introduction to Lord Cromer he went to Egypt. A word from the latter to the Jewish authorities in Cairo opened up the old chamber. Professor Schechter was able to take away with him in sacks, at his own estimate, not less than one hundred thousand pieces of vellum and paper. He has given an account of this visit in his article, "A Horde of Hebrew Manuscripts[9]."

One doubts, however, whether Schechter brought back all that was in the Genizah. Undoubtedly the place had been plundered before his

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[6] *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lxi, p. 631.

[7] P. xi.

[8] S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambridge, 1899, page v.

[9] *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, 1908, pp. 9 ff.

coming[10], and he was cheated by the men who worked with and for him. Mrs Lewis[6] tells us that leaves were somehow stolen between the packing and unpacking; and that she personally bought some of these from dealers in Cairo. At any rate, a lot of the material had escaped. The Jews themselves had taken the overflow of the Genizah proper, and buried it in their cemetery in the desert, called al-Basātīn, where they had constructed several underground chambers for the purpose. From this place Professor Gottheil in 1910 secured fragments, both early and late. So much had escaped that there is hardly a large library in Europe that is without its collection of Genizah fragments. Of first importance in this respect are the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Jewish Consistory of Paris, the Royal Library of Berlin, the Municipal Library of Frankfurt and the library of the Archduke Rainer, in Vienna. Many private collections also possess them. Dropsie College, Philadelphia, is the custodian of some four hundred and fifty documents, apparently from the Cairo Genizah[11].

No list has ever been made, nor is one likely soon to be made, of all the places where Genizah fragments have found a resting-place.

The contents of Mr Adler's famous "sack" were brought to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York, where they are at the disposition of American scholars; and the great mass of material removed officially by Professor Schechter is now the Taylor-Schechter collection at Cambridge.

It seems certain that the Genizah, once filled to overflowing—literally overflowing into the community cemetery—is now emptied of everything of value. The three most recent visits disclosed nothing but printed matter. But a great deal may still be in the hands of dealers.

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[10] The Synagogue had been repaired some time before Schechter's visit, most probably about 1890, shortly after which date the Genizah material began to appear at the Bodleian. To quote from a reliable correspondent, whose name cannot be mentioned: "Before the late Dr Schechter transferred its remains to Cambridge, many dealers helped themselves to small bundles of fragments which they would obtain by bakhshish from the beadle of the old Synagogue at Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo), where the Genizah had been discovered in an attic as a result of the work of repairing the Synagogue. The workmen on tearing down the roof dumped all the contents of this attic into the court-yard, and there the MSS were lying for several weeks in the open. During these weeks many dealers could obtain bundles of leaves for nominal sums. They later sold these bundles at good prices to several tourists and libraries."

But the Genizah was known in 1750 and 1864, as we have seen, and hence could not be "discovered." Also, if "all the contents" were dumped into the court-yard, they must have been restored, in part at least, to the Genizah before Schechter's visit in 1897, for he found them there. In view of all the statements, perhaps the contents of the Genizah and the entrance to it, were always known to the Synagogue authorities. They deceived Adler upon his first visit, in 1888, with a conventional answer: The contents of a genizah are regularly buried. Before the repairs, the contents and their whereabouts were well known, but not their value. That fact appeared to the Synagogue authorities only after they had seen the beadle sell to the dealers.

[11] Formerly in the (Cyrus) Adler, Sulzberger, Amram, Friedenwald, and Cobern collections. These, together with other Genizah material in Philadelphia, are characterised by the late Dr B. Halper in his *Descriptive Catalogue* (1924).

The Genizah documents which have thus far been examined have contributed immensely to the history of the Jews in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Egypt. Before the discovery little was known of the government of the communities, their tastes and activities, their daily lives. The article "Egypt" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, written in 1903, in the absence of a second edition of that work has been overtaken by the excellent book of Dr Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs* (Oxford, 1920–22). It is hoped, however, that some day all the Genizah material will be published in the original texts, and with logical or chronological sequence, in a *Corpus Geniziacorum*; and that before long some body of scholars and some Maecenas will be found to undertake the task.

ii. The Freer Collection

The Genizah documents edited in the present volume were purchased by Mr Charles L. Freer of Detroit in the year 1908, from a dealer in Gizeh. Nothing further is known of their provenance. They were probably picked up by the curious or the speculative at the time when the Synagogue was being repaired. Every Egyptian knows the negotiable value of antiquities, particularly of inscribed leaves. It is, of course, also possible that they were dug up by natives after being regularly buried by the authorities of the Synagogue. It is even possible that they never were in the Synagogue, but that they were obtained from some ancient cemetery, where they had been originally buried with the dead.

The Freer collection of Genizah documents has been placed in the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C.

iii. The Paper

All the fragments are written upon Paper.

Nos. V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, and XLVI are without screen-marks. Nos. I, II, III, IV, XI, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVI, XL, XLVIII, and XLIX have coarse, and Nos. XXII, XXXVII, XLI, XLVII, and L, fine screen-marks.

Watermarks are to be found on Nos. XXVII and L. The former is apparently a mailed torso, and the latter a hand-and-star such as was employed by manufacturers in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590, according to Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907).

iv. The Handwriting

Although some of the hands betray a familiarity with Arabic writing (XXVII), there is very little of Arabic writing to be found in the collection. The instances are: Nos. XVI (entire), XXVII and XXXV (addresses), II and XIX (scrawls on the back which we have not attempted to explain).

The Coptic numerals employed in No. XL would seem to indicate some contact with the Coptic-Arabic fiscal system.

The collection as a whole is written in Hebrew characters. There is nothing remarkable in the use of the Hebrew alphabet by the Jews when writing Arabic. They have done similarly in Persia, Spain, the Slavic countries, and America. So also the Greeks and Armenians use their national alphabets for writing Turkish. For a time the Jacobite Christians of the Lebanon wrote Arabic in Syriac characters, the so-called Karshūnī. Just as the use of the Arabic script quite generally follows the adoption of Islam, so the use of the Latin or the Greek alphabet shows historical and cultural relationship to the Latin church or the Greek church respectively. It is perhaps not that the letters are more sacred than the language; but that the letters can still be taught after it becomes impossible to continue the tradition of the language.

The variety and difficulty of the hands present at once the chief problem of the editors; although Hebrew writing, in the very nature of the case, is not usually so difficult as the freely ligatured Arabic. One group in particular, Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV, is written in a very bad Hebrew hand in which similar letters are scarcely differentiated at all. Even for a Jew of that time and place these letters could not have been more legible than the proverbial scrawls of Horace Greeley are to us. As modern analogies to these memoranda-slips and leaves from note-books, we are to think of the slips which are issued to us by our grocers, or the personal memoranda and agenda which we carry about in our pockets.

It has been difficult to find a satisfactory standard for the classification of hands[12]. The traditional terms, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," have no definitive and generally accepted meaning. "Square" is used to designate the group of hands most nearly like the standard type of our Hebrew bibles. "Half-square" means usually the group resembling the "rabbinic" or "Rashi" type of the printers; "cursive" means perhaps a running hand with ligatures. But "square" hands become careless, and begin to look like "rabbinic"; while truly "cursive" hands can hardly be found at all. In this collection, in spite of the carelessness of many of the hands, there is only one (XXI) really "cursive" hand, in the sense of being freely ligatured.

Under these circumstances it has been thought best to invent a system, if only for the purposes of this volume; and to give the three traditional terms a definite meaning. As the letter ℵ is the most variable in the alphabet, and as its variation stands in a certain relation to the classes, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," we need only to define these classes in terms of the form of ℵ. In very few cases is the result belied by the general impression of the writing.

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[12] Bernheimer, *Paleografia Ebraica*, Florence, 1924, has come to hand too late for consideration.

The square type is made with five strokes: א.

The half-square type is made with three strokes, and still resembles the square: א ב ה.

The cursive type is made with three or even two strokes, and does not much resemble the square: א נ ס ף ע.

Nineteen of the documents may be dated, exactly or approximately. If these be arranged in chronological order no definite development is apparent. E.g. No. XLVII, of A.D. 1067, has the same cursive form as No. XLI, which is certainly later than 1412. On the other hand, it appears that while cursive hands are commonest in letters and memoranda, square and half-square hands are employed in legal documents (XI, XLIII) and in other formal (XXXI, XXXII, XL) writing, and by persons writing letters from Jerusalem (V, XXVII).

v. The Dating

Unfortunately only nineteen of the fifty fragments can by any means be dated. Of these the earliest appears to be No. V (c. 1016?) or No. XLIII (1043), and the latest No. L (c. 1530?) or No. XL (1511). The undated ones may, of course, fall outside these limits. General considerations make it likely that nearly all of the collection belongs to the early or middle part of this period; and it is disappointing not to find some reference to the Crusades or the Mongol invasions.

vi. The Language and Languages

The interpretation of many of the letters is made peculiarly difficult by a certain characteristic vagueness, incoherence, and obscurity of language (18). The editors are well aware of their failure in many instances to grasp the meaning of the texts (139 ff.). Some of the trouble arises from pure slovenliness of thought and expression. Confusion between two possible forms or constructions, which present themselves simultaneously to the mind of the writer, are very common (36, 46, 119–126, 138, 152, 153, 158). To the obscurities of very bad Arabic (151) and Arabic under some strong foreign influence (XXXIII) are added the inelegancies of speech-mixture. Hebrew and Arabic are often frankly combined in a single document, even of some pretensions (XLIII). But Arabic and Hebrew are combined in the same words (XV); Arabic words are used in a Hebrew sense, and Hebrew words in an Arabic sense (39, 162); and the Arabic and Hebrew articles are even combined (104).

One cannot escape the impression, however, that there is a considerable element of deliberate *geheimthuerei*; "My letter has gone forward to you with the 'dogs,' who will tell you about it" (19). "And the 'Elephant'—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors" (95). "The writer of it is the slave, your insignificant servant, Genesis-Exodus" (133). Some of this is due to fear of the interception of letters, no doubt: "And it is not possible for me to explain to you..." (151). Much of it arises from the trade-slang of a forgotten age: No. XXXVI is an excellent example of this. Some of

it may be humor: "Bought a slave" means "became the father of a son" (51). "The bed is the most important thing in the house" (21). "I needed first of all a tailor" (151).

The elaborate ceremonial of address in the letters, whether in Hebrew or in Arabic, suggests some relationship with the highly developed epistolary technique of the Arabs, as set forth in such books as the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* of al-Ḳalḳāshandī (died A.D. 1418)[13].

The languages used are Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic.

Except in the few cases where the language is bad, we may assume that Arabic was the mother tongue of the writers of all these documents. It is used for most of the personal letters, notes, and memoranda; and documents in Hebrew have a tendency to lapse into it. Hebrew is the language of formal letters, or letters written by proficient persons with a motive for emphasising the bond that united the Jews. Hebrew is the language of the poetic pieces, all more or less religious, and Aramaic the language of documents (XI); but words from both languages are often introduced into Arabic texts, especially where Jewish institutions are concerned.

It is perhaps unnecessary, except for completeness, to remark here that Hebrew was properly the language of Canaan (Isaiah xix, 18). Themselves a part of the Aramaean migration, and in contact with Aramaic (Gen. xxxi, 47; II Sam. x, 6; Jud. xviii, 28), the Jews must have become more familiar with Aramaic after the deportations of Israelites and importation of Aramaeans in 734 and 722 B.C. (II Kings xv, 29; xvii, 6, 24; Ezra iv, 2, 10). Aramaic was understood by Judaeans of the upper classes as early as 701 B.C. (II Kings xviii, 26; Isaiah xxxvi, 11). During the fifty years of exile in an Aramaic-speaking Babylon the Jews must have learned that language thoroughly, as the steady process of aramaïsation in post-exilic Hebrew testifies. The writer of Ezra (end of fourth century B.C.) and the writer of Daniel (about 167 B.C.) not only include Aramaic documents and reports, but themselves use Aramaic within the body of a Hebrew book, intended for Jewish readers. With the beginning of Hellenistic times Hebrew seems to have perished as a spoken language. It was replaced by Aramaic and Greek. After the decline of Greek in the fourth century, Aramaic, in various forms, continued to be the language of Jews in the orient until the Muslim conquests, in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. Medieval and modern Hebrew have so strong an infusion of Aramaic at times, that they may be said to consist of a mixture of the two. This did not occur with Arabic, probably because of the greater difference between Arabic and Hebrew; although Arabic became the chief language of the Jews in the East.

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[13] Cf. a similar work in *Zeitschr. der deutschen morg. Gesell.*, vol. lxx, pp. 7 ff. British Museum 182, Hebrew A3, gives suggestions for writing to a superior for assistance.

vii. Arabic

At times the Arabic used approximates to the classical idiom. The suffix *-kumū* occurs in a rajaz-verse (133); and there are instances of the *iʿrāb* and the *tanwīn* (41). But for the most part the Arabic is colloquial in some degree. The type is usually Egyptian; but it is often Palestinian or Syrian, or even Maghribī (VII). This colloquialism varies from a slight coloring or an occasional slip, to an out-and-out use of the vernacular (IX, XII, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLV). In the two letters (or two parts of one letter?) written by a slave (or servant?) to his master (XXVIII, XXX) we have perhaps the oldest existing specimens of colloquial, howbeit Jewish Arabic. The writer spells both his Arabic and his Hebrew words phonetically. No. XXVI is most peculiar, if indeed we have read it properly.

Orthography and phonology must be treated together, as we cannot always know whether we are dealing with peculiarities of spelling or peculiarities of pronunciation. Some of the texts are more phonetic than others, writing the consonants and long vowels apparently as heard and spoken (130), and even occasionally indicating the short vowels (63, 139).

The Hebrew letters employed in expressing the Arabic sounds are those which etymologically correspond to the Arabic letters; but some cases require special comment:

ت and ث = ת
ط = ט
د and ذ = ד
ض = דׇ
س = ס, rarely שׂ or צ (3) under influence of ט (15)
ص = צ, rarely ז (51)
ز = ז, rarely צ (138)
ظ = טׇ
ج = גׄ, indicating a non-Cairene pronunciation
خ = כ, rarely ח, as in Europe (122, 138)
غ = עׇ
ق = ק, rarely ה (152), or omitted, because = hamzah (154)
ح = ח, rarely ה (50, 140), or ע under influence of ת (63)
ع = ע, rarely omitted, in numerals (138)
ه = ה, rarely omitted, in *fī*[*hi*] (112)
ـِ ـُ = י, *passim*. Short *i* also? (138, 230)
= יא
ه = ה, rarely הא (12 ff., 159)

In the way of forms and syntactic peculiarities not necessarily colloquial:

אבי for ابو (114, 152)
אביך for اخوك (150, 152)
מתופיה for مُتَوَفّاة (38)

Also the frequent omission of the article, the strange use of prepositions, and the redundant "it" (XXVII especially).

Peculiarities of vocabulary not necessarily colloquial:

يَؤُمّ, "he intends" (24)
إِبْراء, "acquittal" (35)
أَمْر, "business" (162)
بَيْن, "by agreement" (43)
ثَقَّل, "forced" (34)
ثَمَن, "value" (164)
לא תגטט, for لا تُجَطّ (?), "do not be concerned" (154)
جُمْلة, "shipment" (97)
حديث, "business" (37)
" , "matter" (63)
يُحَرّص, "he should urge" (39)
مُحاكَمة, "judiciable claim"? (43)
مخدوم, "master" (138, 140)
خُضْرة, "mouldiness" (122)
خاطَر, "risked" (152)
يُخْلِف, "may he recompense" (154)
أُدْخِل له تحْته, "I pay to him, to remain under his management"? (32 ff.)
يُدِرّهم, "he liquidated them"? (39)
אדעא, for أَدْعَى, "he asserted"? (34 f.)
דפועהא, for دَفْعُها, "their delivery"? (97)
دَرَج, "moment" (162)
دفعتْ, "she summoned to court"? (55)
ذكَر, "he said" (34 ff. *et passim*)
راسى, "myself" (140)
رِقام, "embroidery" (152)
سبستان, "prunes" (123)
סרס, for شَرَس, "quarrel"? (132)
سُرْسور, "manager" (193)
مُتَسَفّر, "despatcher" (228)
أَسْقى, "he treated"? (112)
أَسْلَفْتُ, "I borrowed" (140)
اِسْتَمَعْنا, "we inquired" (45)
سِعْر, "purchase-price"? (164)

أَسْنَهُ, "payable next year"? (141)
مُشِدّ, "inspector," "overseer" (141)
شُغْل القَلْب, "worry" (36 *et alibi*)
شِقاق, "chaff"? (118)
شاكِريّة, "favor"? "wages"? (63)
شُرْطة, "police" (69, 95)
ضعف, "was not able" (112, 121)
طلب, "wished," "tried" (121)
على, "for"? (20 *et alibi*)
غاسول, "soap" (123)
غَلاء, "profiteering"? (125)
الفور, "Purim" (46)
قبول, "before" (120)
לקד אן, "because"? (21)
المُسْتَقِرّ, "the inquirer"? (62, 150 *et alibi*)
אקרא, for أَقْرُو, "I being impatient for"? (126)
قِصَص, "doings" (127)
كِراء, "cost"? "load"? (57, 73)
كِسْبة, "estate"? (49)
كَنِيسيّة, "church" (19, 120, 156)
تَلْشِيمة, "reconciliation" (42)
מהד, "dowry"? (57)
مع, "about"? (119)
معانى, "affairs"? (20)
المملوك, "your obedient servant"? "slave"? (24, 133)
ناخُوذة, "ship's captain" (48)
أَنْفَذْتَ, "you sent" (50)
أَنْفَذ, "it had paid" (150)
وَجْه, "important thing"? (20)
يَتَّجِه, "it might be due"? (9)
وَلَد, "son" (39)
وَلَّف, "he collected" (119)

Of especial interest are the instances of colloquial phonology (Egyptian, unless otherwise stated):

Loss of ' in numerals (114, 138, 163 *et alibi*).
Loss of final *-hi* (112).
New ' arising out of *ḫ* (154 *bis*), or triliterality (199).
Change of ' to *ḥ* before the voiceless stop *t* (63).

Change of *s* to *ṣ* before the emphatic stop *ṭ* (15).

Loss of final short vowel of verbal forms, resulting in shortening of preceding vowel (34), or (when the root ends with *l*) assimilation to the *l* of the preposition (46, 138, 140, 156).

Accent on first syllable in broken plurals of the form *fa'ālīl*, with consequent shortening of second syllable, so as to produce the form *fa'alīl* (160 *et passim*).

Maghribī accent on last syllable with consequent loss of initial vowel in *ibn* and *abū* (32, 41, 69).

Colloquial forms are frequent:

wilād for *awlād* (40).

Characteristic forms of numerals (138).

Maghribī *hūmā* for *hum* (140).

lē and *ilō* for *lahu* (Palestinian and Syrian, 33).

hādī for *hādha* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

dī for *hādha* (162).

ēsh for *mā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 21, 39, 52, 124, 152).

hēk for *hākadhā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

The negative suffix *-sh[e]* (54, 65, 121, 140, 150, 151), at times still objective and not yet adverbial (150, 151).

The present-tense-prefix *bi-* with the imperfect (39, 112, 152).

The Maghribī first-person-singular (sic!) prefix with the imperfect, *n*, if it be not a mere use of "we" for "I." (Spanish-Moroccan? 152 *et alibi.*)

The external *t* in the VIIIth form of the verb (51, 52, 53, 160).

Metathesis of first vowel in verbs whose third radical is *y*, e.g. *iḥkēt* for *ḥakaitu* (Palestinian, 140).

Inflection of verbs whose third radical is ' (47) and verbs whose second and third radicals are identical (155), as though they were verbs whose third radical is *y*.

Simplification of *yuṭma'ínn* to *yutámmin* (47).

The pseudo-verb *fī[h]* (151).

The conjunctions *walla* (125) and *ila wa* (56).

The adverb *lissa* (65).

Syntactic peculiarities of the colloquial:

The relative pronoun *alladhī* is at times used as a conjunction in the manner in which its colloquial counterpart, *illi*, is used in Cairene vernacular at the present day. This is precisely the history of the Germanic demonstrative (English *that*) which becomes relative and then conjunctive: "*That* book *that* denies *that* such is the case" (45, 130).

The Hebrew letters אֲ occur many times in such a way as to appear to be the Arabic conjunction *an*, used as an indefinite relative pronoun (45, 51, 54, 96, 130). As everyone knows, Arabic has no indefinite relative pronoun. This *an* would seem therefore to be used in the manner of Hebrew -שֶׁ. At times it stands between an undetermined noun and its attributive adjective (45, 54, 96).

The conjunction *an* is omitted (121).

The participle is used for a finite verb (? 51).

Vocabulary and idioms which are like modern colloquial:

baṭṭāl,	"worthless," "bad" (34)
baḳa,	"he became"? (44, 63)
jāb,	"he brought" (38)
yejīb,	"that he bring" (121)
jābu,	"they would bring [a price]" (39)
jawāb,	"letter" (62)
ḥājah,	"thing" (19, 63, 120, 160), plural, *ḥawā'ij* (154, 187)
חדות,	"story" (47)
dā,	"he gave" (56)
rāḥ,	"he went" (46)
ruḥt fī ḥālī,	"I went about my business" (140)
ashṭar,	"cleverer" (160)
שיתאן,	"rascal" (113)
'ā'iz,	"desirous" (46)
ḳabadū,	"they have received" (120)
ti[*ḳ*]*rā 'annī.....as-salām*,	"give my greetings to....." (154)
bi naẓrak,	"with your favor" (141)
nuṣṣ,	"half" (122)

viii. Hebrew and Aramaic

The few Hebrew words which are spelled phonetically after the Arabic fashion (130) indicate the Sephardic value of the vowel ָ: *ā* (130). In No. XV, however, we have גודל uniformly for גָּדוֹל, and עוליך for עָלֶיךָ, and פעומים for פְּעָמִים (77, 79), indicating that ָ was pronounced *ō*, and that the accent rested upon the penult. Both of these peculiarities are foreign to the present pronunciation of Hebrew by Jews of Sephardic origin in Arabic-speaking lands, and characteristic of the pronunciation of Jews of Ashkenazic, Yememite, Persian, and Caucasian origin. There is no reason for suspecting Ashkenazic influence more than the others.

Arabic ابو frequently becomes אבי (142) on the analogy of ancient names, such as Abimelech (142).

Very few unusual meanings appear. דְּיוֹקְנִי, which generally means "picture," must mean "copy" (29). הַגְּרִי, "Hagarene," a biblical word, referring to a certain Arab tribe, stands for "Arabic" in general (27), instead of עַרְבִיִּים. שַׂר is a technical term for the chief figure which appears in the vision seen by a crystal-gazer (76). The poet, in quest of rimes, invents new words (173, 175).

ix. Contents

Of theological material there is only an unimportant fragment of Maimonides (XXXIX), an equally poor one of Simeon Ḳayyāra (VI), and an extremely problematic jumble of halachic notes of very doubtful origin and purpose (XLIV).

Poetry (pizmōnīm) is represented by a panegyric of Abraham Maimunī (XXIX), religious poems or hymns (pizmōnīm) and fragments (XVII, XIX, XX), including a biblical paraphrase (XXXVIII).

The liturgy is found in two specimens (X, XLVI), and liturgical notes in three (XXIII, XXV, XLII). None of these, except possibly XLVI, is of any interest. Nos. XXIII, XXV, and XLII are not only extremely difficult to translate and explain, but very difficult to account for.

There are two interesting magical texts or amulets (XV, XXIV), the former to be used in connection with some "scrying" or crystal-gazing ceremony.

Four of the items are documents in the precise legal sense: the extremely important formal agreement about the order of precedence in the Academy at al-Ramlah (XLIII), an interesting bill of divorce (XI), two documents recording the settlement of an indebtedness incurred in a partnership undertaking (I), and an all but completely unintelligible receipt in Arabic script (XVI). No. VII is the memorandum of an indignation meeting held by a defrauded investor, and hardly a legal document. The same may be said of the list of tax-payers (XIII), leaves from merchants' note-books (XIV, XVIII), and an accounting of expenses incurred by a business expedition (XXXVI). Two records of marriage-settlements, with long lists of articles belonging to the bride (XL, XLV), and a record of the sale of a slave (XLV), are probably informal documents.

Of the fifty numbers in the collection twenty-four contain letters. Nos. XXX and XXVIII probably are parts of the same letter, and XXXI and XXXII are certainly such; while No. L contains three distinct communications. We thus have twenty-four letters also. Not only do the letters constitute nearly half of the collection, but they are by far the most interesting part of it. In the picture which they give of Jewish life in Egypt from about A.D. 1000 to 1500, there is much that is characteristic of Jewish life and of life everywhere.

Letters were carried by travellers (47) or runners (XLVII) over vast distances, and arrived infrequently (47). Anxious relatives at home beg the young man to write oftener, and he replies that he is too busy (51). Every sort of letter is represented. There is the family-letter, mostly about personal trials and troubles (III, IX, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX); the begging letter of an aunt (XLIX); the appeal of a worthy man to the munificent al-Tustarī (XXXI–XXXII); the wheedling, half-threatening, plea for assistance in behalf of another (XLVIII); on the loss of a friend (XXI); the trivial polite letter (XXVI); to a departed guest (XXXIV); upon fleeing to Alexandria (XXXVII); on general business matters (XXII); to a business associate (XII, XXXIII); complaining to a business partner of

his timidity (XXXV); from a wily old man in Jerusalem who knows better than to speculate in sugar (XLI); from a half heat-stricken man held up at a lonely caravan-station in Sinai (XLVII); about the adjustment of a debt (IV); about a real-estate controversy (VIII); about a case of divorce (V); complaint of political intrigue against the writer (II); exposure of a corrupt and tyrannical judge (L). From these letters, supplemented by the other material in the collection, we derive the data underlying the following sections.

x. Geography

The geographical range of the documents is from Aleppo and Turkey in the north to Aden in the south, and from Spain and France in the west to Colombo and India in the east.

Most important is Egypt, the home of prosperous Jewry. A number of Egyptian places are mentioned. At al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) was the congregation and Synagogue of Elijah, in whose archives were kept important letters received, and copies of important letters sent. Perhaps the Canal mentioned in No. IX is the ancient water-way which gave its name to the street al-Khalīg in modern Cairo (54). Alexandria is spoken of, and appears in several personal and family names.

Palestine, and particularly Jerusalem, are objects of concern. There is an allusion to the Jewish Quarter, to the Rubā'īyah (Mūristān?) and the Church (of the Holy Sepulchre?). There has been an earthquake, or similar catastrophe, and the "Glorious Place" has collapsed, and must be rebuilt (31). In the Holy City the chief necessities of life, then as now, were fuel-wood and olive oil, for heat and light (121), except when there was actual want of food (125). No. XXVII gives the familiar picture of Jewish misery in Jerusalem. Other places in Palestine and Syria are mentioned: Hebron? (118), al-Ramlah (201), Safed, Kafr Yāsīf, 'Ain al-Zaitūn (L), Tyre (127), Aleppo (103, XLVII). All the stations on the caravan route between Cairo and Damascus are mentioned in No. XXX. Caravans from Aleppo and Damascus stop at Ḳaṭyah in Sinai (XLVII).

There seems to have been a group of Cairene Jews, settled at Aden, South Arabia, and engaged in the trade with India and Ceylon. They even occasionally went to Colombo (IX).

Spanish Jews are often alluded to (179, L), and Spanish ships (123) are once mentioned; also people of Sicily (75) and commerce with that country (123); perhaps even France (99). The writers of XXI and XXVII were probably of Moroccan origin, as were doubtless others (153).

xi. Biography

A great many personal names appear; but most of them are not to be identified, and many of them are as indefinite as "Abraham Cohen" would be in modern New York, or "Muḥammad" in Cairo.

The following are a few of the names which seem to be more or less certainly placed. The references in each case are to Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, vol. i (1920); vol. ii (1922).

1. Abraham Maimūnī (135), son of the great Maimonides, born 1186, died 1237.

2. Abraham, son of Shema'yāh the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yāh Gā'ōn (7), signatory of many documents, alive in 1088 (Mann, ii, 232).

3. Abū al-Faraj (25), perhaps the same as Abū al-Faraj, son of Abū Zakarī, a judge at al-Fusṭāṭ, alive in 1301. Both father and son bore the title "ra'īs" (Mann, i, 246).

4. Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Manasseh (11), signatory of documents in conjunction with No. 2, and therefore contemporary (Mann, ii, 232).

5. The Ḥazzān Bayyān (53)—a strange form and word-order—perhaps the same as Abū 'l-Bayyān the Ḥazzān, about 1050 (Mann, i, 242; ii, 308).

6. Immanuel, son of Yeḥī'ēl (61), perhaps a descendant of the Yeḥī'ēl who lived in the twelfth (?) century (Mann, ii, 303 ff.).

7. Jacob, son of Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh (26), perhaps the same as the head of the Jewish court who signed documents at al-Fusṭāṭ in 1016 and 1018, and at Aleppo in 1028 (Mann, i, 37, 150).

8. Judah ha-Kōhēn, son of Eleazar (13), was dayyān at Bilbais from 1187 onward (Mann, ii, 317).

9. Mebōrākh, son of Nathan (11), a known signatory of twelfth-century documents (Mann, i, 222, 227; ii, 293).

10. Nahrai, son of Nissīm (129), perhaps the same as the famous scholar by that name who died between 1050 and 1098 (Mann, i, 204 ff.; ii. 240 ff.). But the prefixed "Abū Yaḥyā" would refer to a supposedly well-known son, of which there is no record.

11. Nathan, son of Abraham (199), usurper of power in the Palestinian Academy (XLIII), becoming "Father of the Law Court," or "Second," in place of the rightful aspirant, Tobiah, son of Daniel (Mann, i, 141–152; also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273).

12. Nathan, son of Samuel (35), perhaps the same as the secretary to the nāgīd about 1140 (Mann, i, 225).

13. Shabbatai, son of Abraham the Dayyān the Ḥābēr (17), signed documents in 1154 (Mann, ii, 259).

14. Solomon, son of Judah (199), the Gā'ōn, or "First," in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

15. Tobiah, son of Daniel (199), the "Third" who should have been "Second" in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

16. al-Tustarī, Abū Sa'd, Abraham, son of Abū al-Faḍl, Sahl (143), the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in 1048 (Mann, i, 76, 79, 122; Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* [1901], pp. 137, 149).

17. 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, son of Joseph (3), probably the "Parnās of Babylon," about 1116 (Mann, i, 196).

18. Yepheth, son of David (7), perhaps the same as Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of David, son of Shekhanya (Mann, ii, 97, 246). But he signed documents in 1020, ninety-six years before our own.

19. Abraham Castro (237, 241), may be the one mentioned by Sambari and Solomon Ḥazzān. If so, he was alive in A.D. 1606.

20. Joseph Sarakossī (Saragossī, L), organised the Safed community in A.D. 1492. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.*

21. Moses di Trani (? L), Dayyān of Safed, 1525–35. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.*

xii. Jew and Gentile

The student of the Law who refuses to invest in sugar (193) speaks casually of a neighbor as "the uncircumcised one—May his name and memory be blotted out!" (191). The melancholic Abū Zubair, writing from Jerusalem, complains that a certain other Jew is found at the houses of Muslims, and does not understand the difference between "inside and outside" (127). A Jew excuses himself for resorting to gentiles (19). A proselyte is perhaps mentioned in a list of Jewish tax-payers (69). Two Muslim formulae: "Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds" (161), and "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (163), occur in one letter. Arabic script is occasionally used, and in one instance Coptic numerals (XL).

Considering the complaining tone of many of the letters, we hear surprisingly little about persecution. There is difficulty between Jewish landlord and gentile tenant (21), or between Muslim landlord and Jewish tenant (121), of the kind usual in the Near East, and not necessarily influenced by religious or racial feelings. In Nos. XXXI and XXXII Tobiah asks al-Tustarī for a letter: "For I fear that evil may overtake me on the way, even as it overtook me at Ḥānēs. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today in prison. In those days I had money in my hand, and I gave a bribe" (147 f.). There seems to be a veiled allusion to persecution in XXII: "I inform you" by this letter "of the condition of Būṣīr and its pain and travail; and that it is a city of great trouble and travail" (97). No. XXXVII seems to tell of persecution or similar disorders: The writer's son-in-law (or father-in-law?) has rented a "tower" at a place called Sīkat (?), or near Alexandria; and the whole family intends to live together in it. At his present place of residence "there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—yet there is no trustworthy information." He would "like to go away from here." "Perhaps God will have mercy, and His anger will depart from His people Israel—even though there are some who say that the towers are untrustworthy" (171). A synagogue is destroyed by Muslims (233).

Piracy, the capture of Jewish merchants and other travellers, and the necessity of ransoming them, laid a heavy burden both upon those who ventured abroad and upon those who stayed at home (50, note; 51). The pirates were Muslims (51). Such captures were made purely in view of ransom. "The captive, Esther" (183) is ransomed by the man who is to marry her, for fifty dīnārs (183), a rather large sum. There were, of course,

the usual slaves (159, 223 f.). It was probably the ability of the Jews to pay, and their faithfulness in ransoming their brethren, that made them the particular victims of this practice. Labor requisitions (231) need not have been made upon Jews especially.

The Jews paid a poll-tax (23). Number XIII is a list of the names of tax-payers with amounts (67 ff.). It is not clear why the Sultan took a third of a certain estate (41). Jews adjusted their differences successfully before Jewish courts (3 ff., 43). In one case two dishonest men defraud a business partner successfully by resorting to a Muslim court (35).

xiii. Marriage

Women owned and inherited property (39, 47, 55). A girl might marry when only twelve years old (187). The economic side of the agreement was arranged by a marriage-broker, who made note of the facts (XL, XLV). The betrothal, with its "advanced payment" (*muḳdām*), and the marriage proper, with its "delayed payment" (*me'uḥār*), were probably celebrated in quick succession (XL, XLV). In the interim the lady was sometimes supported by the fiancé (187). The bride brought a dowry (*nedunyāh*). This consisted of a great variety of goods. In both Nos. XL and XLV we find remarkable lists of articles of clothing and personal adornment, jewelry, cosmetics, and sweetmeats (187), which will well repay study. Some of the names belong evidently to the fanciful nomenclature of the day. What indeed is a "trembler" (181), or a "dancer" (179)? Others, though strange, are intelligible and interesting, such as the color, "gazelles' blood," and the many articles from Hormuz (181, 185). Property arrangements are also frequently stated, particularly that the husband shall possess the wife's handiwork, but must provide her with clothing (179, 183, 187), and the inheritance rights of the children are protected (183).

The last mentioned arrangements are made not merely in view of death, but also of divorce (183); and this was apparently not difficult. In No. XI we have a bill of divorce in which no grounds are stated, while great pains are taken with phraseology, attestation, and delivery of the document. In No. V the grounds are that the wife has refused to follow her husband to another city, to which he has transferred his domicile. That there may sometimes have been extreme grounds for divorce appears from the mention of two cases of adultery (53, 55), where the husbands were away from home for long periods. The unfortunate, illegitimate offspring was refused the customary blessings at circumcision (55). Neither ḥazzān nor dayyān would attend, and certain less sensitive Byzantine Jews managed to collect the necessary quorum (55). Great fondness for children is revealed in the letter to a departed guest (157), where we have perhaps one word of infantile Hebrew.

xiv. Religion, Learning, Superstition

Religion and learning are not fairly represented in the present small collection of Genizah documents. For evidence of these one must refer, e.g., to the description of still uninvestigated materials enumerated by

Bacher in the *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (s.v. *Genizah*). Our collection consists of humbler remains of the past, overlooked or rejected by seekers after literary texts. Nevertheless, we have a few pizmōnīm, liturgical fragments and notes, halachic bits, and a portion of Maimonides besides occasional references to books and an interest in study, pamphlets on Hebrew grammar and theological controversy (123 ff.). Books were hard to get, and loaned books hard to recover (125). A borrowed copy of the Prophets cannot be returned, because the boys are reading it (153)! Only one really unworthy exponent of religion appears (L), although the ethics of a certain transaction in grain are at least doubtful (123). There are some maxims of merit (127, 175).

It is quite natural that we should find some evidence of the pursuit of magic and pseudo-science. No. XXIV is a charm or amulet, such as those elsewhere alluded to (23, 125). No. XV, while it may be a charm, is certainly the recipe for a "scrying" ceremony, with the well-known reference to "princes" which are wont to appear in the vision (76). Elsewhere there is reference to a "magic circle" (107). Cabbalistic names are used (107), including the Tetragrammaton (77 f.), the שם המפורש (81), and Mīṭaṭrōn, the angel (77). The purpose of magic may be protection from disease and accident (107), or the cure of disease and decay (23), or the discovery of hidden treasure (79 ff.). The Song of Songs will cure "dry patches" or a drying up of the body, or boils (23). Psalm cxxi, 5–8, and Exodus xiv, 19 also have magic potency (107). People live in fear of magic, diseases, ghosts, and all sorts of catastrophy (107). The Latin word *succuba* perhaps occurs (107), instead of the Hebrew Lilith, for the vampire-demoness. If the boy's name, *'Allān*, means "stupid," it is applied to avert the evil eye from a particular shining mark (9, 11, 19). A vindictive statement about one who is dead is hastily retracted: "But woe unto us! For we are not unmindful of our own condition!" (127).

XV. Commerce and Manufacture

The Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ and their correspondents dealt in many wares, both staple and fancy: tartar and resin (25), saffron and coral (75), pepper (87), flax, linen, and indigo (99), wool and woollen goods (121), wheat, prunes, gum-arabic, almonds, soap, and earthen pots (123, 231), alum, candied roses (?), and spikenard (153), sugar (191), swords (193), and other commodities. They advanced money for the purchase of material and the maintenance of workmen, taking and selling the finished product. They were in fact manufacturers of colored silks (73), cloth (161), and yarn (153).

The Jews also entered into partnerships (7), a thing which Moslems in Egypt even nowadays seldom dare to do. These, to be sure, were not always successful, because of the indifference (63), or timidity (161), or dishonesty (33, 191) of the partners. The risks of commerce were great. Then as now, goods were perishable and prices fluctuated (191). But clients in those days were exposed to unusual dangers and uncertainties. Tips, taxes, fees, bribes, presents, obligations, contributions, and gratuities,

to agents, porters, sailors, ferrymen, gate-keepers, camel-drivers, inspectors, revenue-officers and what not (XXXVI), by which the Jews avoided molestation, must have taken much of the profit and all of the pleasure out of commercial pursuits.

Of the coins mentioned, the *dīnār* gets its name from the Roman *dēnārius*, but it is a gold coin weighing between 66 and 68 4/7 grains. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine; so that a *dīnār* of the same fineness would lack only a few grains of being equal to half that coin, or $2.50. Its purchasing power at the time, however, has been estimated at about $7.50. The *ashrafī* (139 ff., 187) succeeded the *dīnār* in Egypt toward the end of the fourteenth century A.D. (187). It weighed 53.8 grains.

The *dirham* gets its name from the Greek δραχμή. The Arabs took over this word, in the form *darāhim*, as though a broken plural from an imaginary singular, *dirham*. It was equal to about 1/15 of a *dīnār* or an *ashrafī*. A special *dirham nāsirī* is mentioned (111).

Other coins are, the *rubā'ī*, or "quarter" of a *dīnār* (167); the *nuṣf faḍḍah*, or "half a silver-piece" (139); the *maiyadī* or *mu'aiyadī*, coined after A.D. 1412–1421 (192); and the *ḥabbah*, mentioned among other small coins (165). The Hebrew words כְּפָרִים (193) and פְּרָחִים (183, 232) are used perhaps to mean *dīnārs*. Moroccan money was used (169). *Mithḳāl* and *ḳīrāt* (3, 33, 73) are names for weights primarily, but are used apparently in reference to coins or coined money. The former may mean *dīnār* (33, 73). The latter is 1/24 of a *dīnār* (3, 69).

In the way of weights and measures we have the *ḳinṭār*, which now equals about 99 lbs. and 4/5 oz. avoir., the *roṭl*, a little less than 1 lb. avoir., and the *wiḳīyah*, about 1.32 oz. avoir. The *ḳinṭār* contains 100 *roṭls*, and the *roṭl* contains 12 *wiḳīyahs*. *Ḳinṭār* is derived from Latin *centēnarius*, "containing a hundred," a word which has passed into many languages in the sense of "a hundredweight," or "a hundred pounds." *Roṭl* seems to come from Greek λίτρα, related to Latin *libra*, "a pound," and *wiḳīyah* from Latin *uncia*, "an ounce," the twelfth part of a *libra*. The *ḳaṣabah* is a measure of length, at present equal to 11 ft. 7.766. The equivalents in the above have been taken from Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908. *Wazn* (121) seems to be a unit of weight, not "weight" in general. *Ḳafaṣ* (193) and *ḳafīz* (119) are evidently grain measures.

xvi. Proper Names

The many interesting proper names which are to be found in these texts deserve more than the few observations which are here accorded them; but adequate treatment must await further investigation. No. XIII is especially important.

No doubt the Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ, like Jews in other lands, bore double names, one Hebrew and the other gentile. Fortunately, however, in the case of Egypt, many names were more or less the same in both languages. We have therefore not only Hebrew names and Arabic names, but such as

might be either if necessary. When a Hebrew name resembled an Arabic one in sense but not in sound, it was translated instead of being phonetically modified: e.g. *Nāthan* became *Hibah* (27, 69), while *Abhrāhām* became *Ibrāhīm* (22); just as *Kēphā* became *Petros* (John i, 43), while *Shā'ūl* became *Paulus* (Acts xiii, 9).

The patronymics are most interesting, as they show that certain name-motifs, which are commonly supposed to be of recent European origin, are medieval and oriental. *Bin Asad* (32), "Löwensohn," *Ibn al-Bahwarī* (67), "Son of the Lion-like," *Sibā'* (67), "Lion," are all members of the large group of "lion-names," which may have started with Genesis xlix, 9, as a cryptogram for *Judah*. In Europe the German translation, *Löwe*, seems to have been associated with Hebrew לֵוִי and לֵב. The permutations, through translation and paranomasia, are very numerous. *Al-Dhahabī* (71) is "Goldmann"; *al-Fiḍḍī* (71) is "Silbermann"; *al-Sukkarī* (67) is "Zuckermann"; *al-Ṣafīr* (131), though it means "sapphire," stands doubtless for Aramaic שַׁפִּירָא, "Shapiro"; *Me'ir* (179) is "Meier." Some names, however, have come back to the orient from Europe, such as *Māyō* (191).

xvii. Purpose and Plan of Publication

For many years the content of Genizah material, particularly the Hebrew material, has been studied, while the form, especially of the Arabic material, has been neglected. This is easily explicable; for the chief interest undoubtedly lies, and should lie, in the life and times of the Fusṭāṭ community, rather than in their language; and the language of these documents, at least on the Arabic side, presents peculiar difficulties.

In attempting to interpret documents written in a vulgar or barbarous form of some well-known language, there is always the question, first of all, as to whether they should receive grammatical and lexicographical treatment. It used to be thought that such was unnecessary, or indeed impossible, because there was no grammar. Now-a-days no one will doubt that vulgar and barbarous texts have, after all, grammatical peculiarities; and that these can and must be studied for an understanding of the content of these texts. But the discharge of this duty is more difficult than its recognition; for vulgar dialects must be studied without prejudice, mostly in the light of their own evidence; and barbarous documents require at the same time constant watchfulness to detect the intrusion of "educated speech" in its varying degrees of corruption.

It is the purpose of the present volume to explain the texts, particularly those in Arabic, in such a way that anyone having a fair knowledge of the ordinary idiom may learn to read them; and to call attention to the peculiarities of language in such a way as to benefit those whose chief interest is philological. The translations have been made so that, by including the bracketed words, the reader will have a free rendering, and, by excluding them, a literal one. This is of course not entirely true everywhere. At the expense of beauty and brevity, and with some violence to

English at times, he will, however, usually be able to see what the editors understood the text to mean, and how they arrived at that understanding. The Arabic student will thus be assisted without seriously inconveniencing the general reader, who wishes to acquaint himself with the content of the documents. In a very few instances parentheses have been used to indicate words in the original which cannot stand in the translation. Bracketed restorations in the text of No. I are by Professor Gottheil; others have been explained in each case.

The treatment of proper names presents a problem. There are purely Hebrew names, or names written clearly as Hebrew; there are Arabic names; but there are also names which belong equally to the Hebrew and the Arabic languages, such as the interchangeable *Abhrāhām-Ibrāhīm*, and names which may be pronounced either as Hebrew or as Arabic, such as *Ṣedhāḳāh-Ṣadaḳah*. Doubtless the Jews of al-Fusṭāṭ used these pairs interchangeably. For this reason, and for the sake of simplicity, all familiar names have been given their ordinary English form, regardless of whether they are Hebrew or Arabic in a particular case: e.g. *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Judah*, *Nathan*, *Samuel*, *Joseph*. Less familiar ones have been transliterated as Hebrew or as Arabic; and sometimes the assignment to the one or the other has been rather arbitrary.

The letters בר stand usually for בר רבי, and they have been so understood in most cases. Occasionally, however, they seem to be Aramaic בַּר (179), particularly when they do not have the dots of abbreviation over them. *Ibn*, *Bin*, *Ben*, *Bar*, *Bint*, and *Bath* have all been spelled with capitals, since often they must stand as the first part of a name. Sometimes they have been retained, and sometimes they have been translated. No fixed rule could be observed, as epithets and blessings attached to the end of a patronymic would in English seem to refer to the son, while in reality referring to the father. The innumerable abbreviations of formulae of blessing have sometimes been translated, sometimes paraphrased, and sometimes entirely omitted, as seemed best in each case.

The order of the fragments in this publication is that of the originals in the Freer Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; not chronological, nor with reference to the contents. A chronological order would have been difficult, because so few of the fragments can be dated even approximately; and as to subject-matter, they admit of many arrangements. It is unfortunate that No. XXVIII is separated from XXX, and XXXI from XXXII. One might wish also that the more interesting ones could have been placed at the beginning of the volume, instead of some that are rather dull and obscure.

This work has been done under rather unusual difficulties. In spite of great effort, it doubtless contains many inconsistencies. Both subject-matter and language are such as to provoke controversy. The editors will be content if they have contributed anything to the understanding of Genizah documents.

INTRODUCTION TO FIRST FRAGMENT

Paper $12\frac{3}{5} \times 8$ inches.

Written in a fairly good Hebrew cursive, in Arabic with Hebrew intermingled.

The fragment is, in places, very much torn; but with the exception of a few words, the text can be recovered entirely.

It contains two documents relating to one and the same affair. It seems that two parties were concerned in some business venture in al-Yemen—Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid ʿUlāh and Abū al-Afrāḥ ʿArūs al-Ajawānī. Difficulties seem to have arisen and ʿArūs owes ʿUlāh the sum of four dīnārs and one carat. Upon the *recto* we have a document, fully attested, to the effect that ʿArūs owes this money to ʿUlāh. Upon the *verso* we have a second document to say that the money owed by ʿArūs has been paid, in the manner specified in the first document, into court; and ʿUlāh releases ʿArūs from all further indebtedness in the matter.

Being official documents they are extraordinarily prolix; but such verbosity and tautology are characteristic not only of these Judeo-Arabic court papers, but of such instruments at all times—even in the courts and law-offices of our own day. It has been no easy matter to translate this verbiage and to find the English terms corresponding to the Aramaic or Arabic expressions.

And, being official documents, they contain a great many Aramaic expressions and sentences. Jewish law goes back to Talmudic days, when the ordinary language of the people was Aramaic. As they passed into Arabic speaking lands, or as the Arabic cultural invasion engulfed them, their language of intercourse became Arabic; but the formulae as laid down in the Talmudic law held their own against this invasion, in exactly the same manner as Latin did in European lands, and as French did when it replaced Latin as the culture-language of Europe.

The documents here published bear a striking resemblance in their whole form and tenor to the two published by the late Adalbert Merx of Heidelberg University in his *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe* (Leiden, 1894). One of them, in fact, bears the date A.D. 1114, one year previous to one of our documents and two years previous to the second (A.D. 1115 and 1116). The names of the witnesses, being those of the members of the Court of Justice at Fusṭāṭ, are common in documents of this period. See Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, Oxford, 1920, Index.

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto:

1 מעשה ש[הי]ה לפנינו אנו ב[י]ת דין [הק]בוע בפסטאט מצרים ומאן דחתים
עימנא לתחתא כן הוה

2 חצר אלינא אל[שי]ך אבו אלאפראח כנ"ך מר' ור' [ע]רום הזקן הנכב[ד
אלא]רגואני בר מר' ור' יוסף הזק[ן]

3 [הנכב]ד אל מהדו[י] נע וקאל לנא אשהדו על[י ואק]נו מני מעכשו ואכתבו
ואכתמו עלי בגמיע אל אל[פאט]

4 אלמחרמה ואלמע[א]ני אלמוכדה ובכל לישאני דזכואתא וסלמו דלך אלי
אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאעד

5 אלד[משקי .....מר' ור'] עולא הזקן הנכבד הלוי הנאמן נאמן בית דין
ורצוי הישיבה בר מר' ור' יוסף הזקן

6 [הנכבד ליכון בי]ד[ה לליום ובעדה חגה ווחאק אנני מקר ענדכם באוכד
מעאני אלאקראראת

7 וא[ותקהא פי צחה מ]ני וגואז אמר טאיע מן גיר קהר ולא גבר ולא אכראה
ולא סהו ולא גל[ט] ולא

8 עלה ב[י ולא מרי] ולא גיר דלך מן [ג]מיע מפסדאת אלשהאדה אן לה
ענדי ופי קבלי ופי דמ[תי]

9 וכאלי .....די[נאר]ין וקיראט ואחד דהבא עינא מתאקלא ואזנה
מצריה גיארא צהאחא

10 דינא ואגבא ו[חקא] לאזמא חוב גמור ומלוה זקופה אקומ לה בדלך בעד
אלפסח פי סלד

A

[1] Reading מעשה, though the text is not quite plain. Sometimes simply the word מה is used. Cf. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter 13 (J 1. No. 7). מה שהיה בפנינו.

[2] Followed by one of the expressions usually accompanying the names of prominent individuals: כבוד גדולת קדושת. Cf. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 383.

[3] I.e. מרנא ורבנא.

[4] I.e. "purple."

[5] Followed by נע = נוחו עדן.

[6] والمعانى المؤكّدة.

[7] The Aramaic expression very often occurs in the simpler form כתבו לי זכות.

Genizah Fragment 1 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 1 b

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto:

1 The following[1] occurred before us the Bēth Dīn [Court of Justice] properly appointed in Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, and in the presence of those whose names are signed below. Thus it was:

2 There appeared before us the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ[2], our lord and master[3] ʿArūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī[4], son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored

3 elder, al-Mihdāwī[5], and said to us: Take my testimony, and ratify it on my part at this moment, write it down and have it signed for me, using all the sacred

4 terms and the hallowed expressions[6], and in language that will fully exempt me[7], and hand this [document] to the Sheikh Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid[8]

5 of Da[mascus.....] ʿUlāh ha-Lēvī, the honored elder, the trusted Levite, trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshībhah, son of our lord and master Joseph,

6 [the honored elder, that it remain in his possession] from now on and afterwards, as a document and a bond. Behold, I acknowledge before you in the most positive

7 and binding form of acknowledgment, being [in good health][9], in full possession of my will, voluntarily, not being forced, without constraint, coercion, without inadvertence or error,

8 or any infirmity in [me or illness] or any of the many [conditions] that make it impossible for me to give testimony, that I owe him, and have in my possession and in my care

9 and separate.....dīnārs and one ḳīrāṭ[10] of fine gold in mithḳāls[11] of Egyptian weight of good quality and true,

10 a legitimate debt and a binding liability[12]. I shall pay[13] him this after the Passover festival at the end of[14]

---

[8] The use of the letter צ for س is quite possible in these documents. The same person is mentioned in another document cited by Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xx, p. 457: אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאעד ר׳ עולה — giving both his Arabic and his Hebrew name.

[9] = في صحّة منّى.

[10] Usually = 1/24 of a dīnār. At the beginning of the line we might read وخالص مالى were it not necessary to suppose a number at this point.

[11] The *mithḳāl* had various values. Here the word is probably used for "coin" in general.

[12] These Arabic words are followed by their equivalent in Hebrew.

[13] אקום. Cf. יקום B, l. 15.

[14] "in the course of"?

11 ניסן מן סנה [א]לף ואר[ב]עמאיה ותמניה ועשרין למנין שט[רות] מן
אנין מא אמתלכה בלא

12 מראפעה ולא ממאנעה ולא חגה ולא אחתנאג כל עיקר ולא ימין עלי
אסתיפא שי מן דלך

13 מן סאיר צנוף אלאימאן תקילהא וכפיפהא ואפילו על ידי גלגול ואפילו
חרם סתם ואחריות

14 חוב דנן עלי אנא ערוס פי חיותי ועלי וראתי בעד ופאתי על כל [מין] ארג
נכסין קנין

15 ממון דאית לי ודיהוי לי תחות כל שמיא בביתא ובברא ממקרקעי
וממטלטלי ואפילו

16 מגלימא דעל כתפאי דלא כאסמכאתא ודלא כטופסי דשטרי אילא כחומר
וכח[ו]ק

17 כלשטרי מחזקי מזרזי דבי די[נא] ותקנאתא דרבנן וכתבת לה הדא
אלכתאב ליכון בידה

18 וביד וראתה בעדה אריך ושריר וקיים ומוחזק דיזכון ביה ??? בכל בתי דינין
לעלם לא כאל

19 אסנאדאת ולא כמצאדיר אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן מא סטרו[ה] רבותינו
זל פי כתב

20 אלדיון ובטילית נמי כל מודעי ותנאי ומודעי דמודעי ומודעי דנפקין מגו
מודעי עד

21 סוף כל מודעי דמסירין לי ודמסרנא על שטר חוב דנן כתיקון חכמים
וקנינא מן מר ור

22 ערוס [הזקן] הנכבד דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד נע לכנק מר ור עולה
הלוי הנאמן

23 נאמן בית דין ו[רצוי] הישיבה דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הלוי נע במנא
דכשר למקניא ביה

24 על כל מה דכ[תיב מ]פרש לעילא ומה דהוה קדמנא אנן בי דינא ומאן
דהתים עימנא לתהתא

25 כתבנא וחתמ[נא] ויהבנא לכנק מר ור עולה הלוי הנאמן [דליהוי] בידיה
לזכו ולראיה

---

[15] The Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C.

[16] Literally: "light or heavy."

11 Nisan of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight according to the Era of Documents[15], in the same good coin which he possessed. [He does this] without

12 any constraint or restraint, argument or discussion at all, or any oath for the carrying-out of any part of this [agreement],

13 from among all the various kinds of oaths, unimportant or capital[16]; not even by means of an oath of implication, nor by any unqualified vow. [The return

14 of this money] is an obligation upon me, 'Arūs, during my lifetime, and upon my heirs after my death, upon anything worth while that I may possess—property, possessions

15 or money that is mine or that I may possess under all the heavens, at home or abroad, real or personal property, even to the covering that is

16 upon my shoulders: not like simple acts of recovery or mere contract formularies, but like full and valid documents:

17 invincible, irresistible writs of the court of justice, and the ordinances of the rabbis. I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession

18 and in the possession of his heirs after him: a document lasting, stable and durable; it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice and for all time to come: not like

19 simple acts of recovery[17] or mere contract-formularies[18], but as the most binding and stable documents that our rabbis[19] have laid down for documents

20 acknowledging debts. I declare void all protests and conditions and protests of protests, and protests that may be developed from protests to the n^{th}

21 degree that may be made for me, or that we may have made in connection with this deed of claim—[all] in accordance with the statutes of the wise men. We have received from our lord and master, this

22 'Arūs, the honored [elder], son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored elder, for our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the trusted one[20],

23 this one trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshībah, this son of our lord and master Joseph ha-Lēvī the elder[21], [a guarantee] in current money

24 according to all that is set forth explicitly above, and which has been brought before us, the Court of Justice, and before those whose names are signed for us below.

25 We have written this, sealed it, and given it to our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī the trusted one, that he keep it as evidence and as proof.

---

[17] There is a hole in the paper here.

[18] اسنادات.

[19] See Merx, *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe*, p. 32, note.

[20] זל"ז. Words of blessing following names are omitted in the translation.

[21] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 196.

26 וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאביר מן חדש תמוז דשנת אלפא וארבעמאה
ועשרין ושבעה

27 שנין למניינא דרגילוננא ביה בפסטאט מצרים דעל נילוס נהרא [מותבה]
ותאכרת כתאמתנא

28 אלי אלעשר אלאול מן חדש אב אלתאלי לה מן אלסנה אלמדכורה שריר
ובריר וקיים

29 אברהם ברבי שמעיה החבר נבת נ̇א נין שמעיהו גאון נ̇ע

30 יצחק בי̇ר שמואל הספרדי זכ לח הע הכ יפת ברי דוד . . .
ח א ב

B

Verso:

1 שהדותא דהות באנפנא אנן שהדי דחתימת ידנא לתחתא . . . [אן הצר]
אלינא אלשיך

2 אבו אלעלא צאעד אלדמשקי נ̇ג̇ק מר ור עולה הזקן הנכבד ה[לוי הנאמן
נאמן בי]ת דין ורצוי הישיבה

3 ב[ן] מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד הלוי נ̇ע וקאל לנא למא תוגה מ . . . . . .
[מ]ר ור יפת הזקן

4 נ̇ע אלי דיאר אלימן אנפדת צחב[תה . . . .] ולמא חב אללה בסלא[מת ה] . . . .
אלתוא . . . . לבתה

5 בדלך פי בית דין וגרי ביננא משוג[ראת כתי]רה פי מגאלס אליה[וד . . . אן]
אקר אכרהא אן דכלו

6 ביננא זקני יושר וכושר פי דלך בדרך פשרה וקררו אן . . . . . [אל]שיך
אבו אלאפראה

7 נ̇ג̇ק מר ור ערוס הזקן הנכבד אלארגואני בר נ̇ג̇ק מר [ור יוסף ה]זקן
הנכבד נ̇ע ען גמיע

8 מא אסתחק ענה ממא כנת אנפדתה מעה פי . . . . . אלי דיאר אלימן ופי
גמיע

---

[22] One can read وتأخّذت or وتاخّرت or وتأكّدت.

[23] I.e. the Passover festival.

[24] The letters placed above names sometimes spell a title, e.g. יפת בר דוד = המלמד "the teacher." (Taylor-Schechter 13, J 1. No. 1.) Sometimes they spell the name of the person's father. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 102. At other times they are the initials of

26 This happened during the last ten days of the month Tammuz, of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven,
27 according to the era that we are accustomed to use in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt, situate upon the river Nile. Our signature was affixed [only][22]
28 upon the tenth day of the month of Ab, that follows it[23], of the aforementioned year.

Certain! Clear! Established!

29 Abraham son of Rabbi Shema'yah, the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yah Gāōn.
30 [Signed by] Isaac, son of R. Samuel[24] ha-Sefardī.
Yepheth, son of R. David (?).....

B

Verso:

1 Testimony in regard to the affair that was treated before us—we who have placed our signature below:.....[There appeared] before us the Sheikh
2 Abū al-'Alā Ṣā'id of Damascus, our lord and master 'Ulāh, the revered elder ha-[Lēvī, the trusted one, trusted of the court] of justice and accredited of the Yeshībhah,
3 son of our lord and master Joseph, the revered elder ha-Lēvī, and said to us: When.....our lord and master Yepheth, the elder
4 went to the country of al-Yemen, a partner[ship] was agreed upon between us (?)[1]; and, when God was gracious enough to permit him to return to us in health[2], when the case was brought
5 before the Court of Justice, many difficulties[3] arose between us.....in the end an agreement (?) was reached that there should come between us
6 righteous and God-fearing elders in this matter, in order that a settlement[4] might be arrived at. So, there came to an agreement.....the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ,
7 our lord and master 'Arūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī, son of our lord [and master Joseph the] honored elder, in respect to all that to which I
8 have a right of that which I had given (?) to him [to take with him][5] to the districts of al-Yemen, and in regard to

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words making up a pious wish. The last signature is badly written. Perhaps Yepheth was a very old man at this time. In Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 97, we find Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of Rabbi David, identical with Yepheth b. David b. Shekhanya, who signed documents as early as A.D. 1020, ninety-six years before our document.

B

[1] Text illegible. It may be انفذت صحبة بيننا; or, simply انفذت صحبته.

[2] The sense is quite certain, but the text is not easily restored.

[3] مشاجرات.

[4] פְּשָׁרָה. Cf. line 24: i.e. that the affair should be amicably arranged, without a trial before the Court of Law.

[5] Perhaps insert فى المسيرة.

9 פאידה וג[מיע] מא יתגה לי עליה מן אנואע אלמטאלבהֻ ועלי אכתלאפ
אגנאסהא מימו[ת]

10 עולם ועד עכשו בארבעה דנאניר וקיראט מן דלך דינארין עאגלה ודינארין
וקיראט

11 אגלה יקום בהא בער פסח מן סנתנא הדה אלתי הי סנה אתכה לשטרות
ואברי מ עלאן

12 דנן מן גמיע אלדעאוי ואלמטאלבאת ומן כל זכות יתגה לי עליה
מימו[ת] עולם ועד

13 עכשו פרצית בדלך ואבריתה בבית דין בקנין גמור חמור בכלי הכשר
לקנות בו מעכשו

14 בביטול כל מודעין ותנאין וקבצת מן כאלה אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערום
דנן אלדינא[רין] אלדי

15 אסתקר אן יקום בהא עאגלה ובקי לי על[י]ה אלדינארין וקיראט אלאגלה
כתבת בה אן

16 עליה אלשטר חוב אלמרכור פי באטן הדה אלורקה ולמא כאן אלא תפצל
ועגל לי בהא

17 ותסלמתהא מנה וברי מנהא ומן דרכהא ולם יבק לי [פי] ג[מיע]תהא מא
קימתה אפילו

18 משוי פרוטה ולעילא פאשהדו עלי אנא עולה הלוי ואקנו מני מעכשו
ואכתבו ואכתמו

19 עלי בגמיע אלאלפאט אלמחכמה ואלמעאני אלמוכדה ובכל ל[י]ש[א]ני
דזכואתא [ו]ס[למו ד]לך

20 אלי אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערום דנן ליכון בידה לליום ובעדה ח[גה
ו]תאק אנני מ[קר] ענדכם

21 באוכד מעאני אלאקראראת ואותקהא פי צחה מני וגוא[ז א]מר [טא]יעא
מן גיר [קהר ולא] גבר

22 ולא אכראה ולא סהו ולא גלט ולא עלה בי מן מרץ ולא גיר [דלך מן]
גמיע [מ]פסדאת אל[ש]הא[דה] אנני

23 קד קבצת ותסלמת מנה ארבעה דנאניר וקיראט [דהבא ע]נא מתאקילה
ואזנה מצריה

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6 آجِلَة.

all that had been gained, and in regard to all that belonged (?) [7] to me from him of the different things that I had the right to demand of him, in their various kinds, from the days of old until now: that it amounted to four dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Of these, two dīnārs were to be paid at once; and two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ should be kept[6] and paid by him after the Passover festival of this year which is the year 1428 according to the Era of Documents. This Mar 'Allān was declared free from any further claims or demands, or from any gain that might be due (?)[7] to me from days of old until today. Now I have agreed to this and have given him a quittance in the Court of Justice, by means of a perfect, all-comprising, bill of sale, with all the legal apparatus with which it is customary to make such quittance at this time, by declaring void any provisions and conditions. I have received from his maternal uncle, Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ the two dīnārs which it was agreed should be paid at once on his account. There remained owing to me from him the two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ to be paid afterwards; for which[8] I had drawn up the promissory note mentioned in this paper. And now that he has been kind enough, and the payment of this sum has been accelerated to me, and I have received it from him, and he is free from it and from any liability in regard to it; and since I have no longer any pecuniary interest at all in it, even that of a penny or more, receive, therefore, this testimony from me, 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, and ratify it on my part at this moment. Write it down, and have it signed for me, using all the sacred terms and the binding expressions, and in language that will fully exempt him, and hand this statement to this Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ 'Arūs, that it remain in his possession from now on and afterwards as a document and a bond. Behold! I acknowledge before you, in the most positive and binding form of acknowledgment, being in good health, in full possession of my will-power, voluntarily, not being forced, without coercion and constraint, without inadvertence or error, or any hindrance arising from illness, or any of the many [conditions] that might make it impossible for me to give testimony—that I received and accepted from him four dīnārs and one[9] ḳīrāṭ of fine gold in mithḳāls of Egyptian weight

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[7] This curious verbal form can scarcely be anything but يَتَّجِهُ from اِتَّجَهَ, the VIII form of وجه. It usually means "to face."

[8] There are two very strange characters at the end of the line. Perhaps אלאן, "now."

[9] There is no room for ואחד. Cf. A, line 9.

24 גי[א]ד[א צח]אחא אלדי וקעת עליהא אלפשרה ען מ עלאן[ן ב] אכתה מן
דלך דינארין עאגלה

25 ואלדינאר[ין] אלמדכורה לי פי באטן הדא אלשטר חסב מא תקדם דכר
דלך לעילא וצאר גמיע דלך

26 אלי עכמאלה ותמאמה ואבריתה מנה ומן הדא אלשטר ומן אלימין
עלי שי מנה ואפילו על ידי גלגול

27 [ואפי]לו חרם סתם בראה כאמלה תאמה באוכד מעאני אלאבארי ואותקהא
וכתיקון חכמים

28 וכתבת לה הדא אלכתאב ליכון בידה וביד וראתה בעדה עלי ועלי וראתי
בעדי אריך ושריר וקיים

29 ומוחזק דיזכון ביה בכל בתי דיני ולעלם לא כאלאסנאדאת ולא כמצאדיר
אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן

30 מא סטרוה רבותינו ז"ל פי כתב אלאבארי ובטילית נמי כל מודעין ותנאין
דמסי[ר]ין לי ודמ[סרנא]

31 על שטרא דנן כתיקון חכמ וקנינא מן מר ור עולה הלוי נאמן בית דין ורצוי
הישיבה דנן בר מר

32 ור [י]וסף הלוי הזקן נע לכנגך מר ור ערום הזקן הנכבד דנן בי יוסף הזקן
נע במנא דכשר למקניא

33 על כל מה דכתיב ומפרש לעילא ושהדותא דא כתבנא וחתמנא וי[הב]נא
למר ור ערום הזקן דנן

34 דליהוי בידי[ה] לזכו ולראיה וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאכיר מן תש[רי] מן
אלסנה אלמדכורה לעילא אלתי

35 הי סנה אתכח למנין שטרות בפסטאט מצרים דעל ני[לוס נהר]א מותבה
שרי[ר] ובריר וקיים

36 מבורך בר נתן סט הלפון הלוי בי מנשה נע

of good quality and true, according to the agreement reached with Mar 'Allān his nephew in regard to these two dīnārs which were to be paid at once
and the two dīnārs mentioned by me in this paper, as has been stated above. All this has come
to me completely and in its entirety. I now free him from this [debt] and from [the provision of] this document, and from taking an oath in regard to any part of it, even a compulsory oath
—a complete and entire release, in the widest and fullest sense of that term and according to the statutes of the wise men.
I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession and in the possession of his heirs after him: binding upon me and my heirs after me; lasting, stable, and durable:
it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice and for all time to come; not like simple acts of recovery, or mere contract-formularies, but as the most binding and stable documents
that our rabbis have laid down for us in regard to the documents of release. I, further, declare void any protests or conditions which may have been made for me or which I may have made
in regard to this document, in accordance with the statutes of the wise men. We have received from this our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the trusted one of the Court of Justice, and accredited of the Yeshībhah, the son of our master
and lord Joseph ha-Lēvī, for our lord and master this 'Arūs, the honored elder, son of Rabbi Joseph, the elder, in current money, according to all
that is set out explicitly above. This testimony we have written down and signed, and have handed over to our lord and master this 'Arūs the elder, that it remain with him
as proof and as evidence. This occurred during the last ten days of Tishri, of the year mentioned above, which is
the year 1428, according to the Era of Documents, in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt, situate upon the river Nile. Certain! Clear! Established!
[Signed] Mebōrākh, son of Nathan
Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Menasseh.

II. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Arabic and Hebrew, in fairly legible cursive Hebrew characters.

Recto:

1 בשם רחם אשרי משכיל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטיהו יי אני יי

2 כי יי יהיה בכסלך ושמר רגלך מלכד כי תעבור במים אתך

3 שלום וברכה ממושכה כתורה וכהלכה ליקר הדרת יקרת צפירת תפארת

4 כבוד גדולת קד מרנא ורבנא יהודה הכהן השר הגדול והאדיר בעם יו תפארת
השרים

5 עטרת הסופרים ישמרו שומר נפוצות חסידו ויהיה לו מושיע וגואל

6 ויחייה שני חמודין השרים סגני הכהנים יאריך אלהים ימיהם בטוב
ושנותם

7 בנעימים בר כגק מרנ ורבנ אל[ע]זר השר הכהן האדיר שר הנדיבים
תפארת השרים

8 החשובים זצל עבדהא יקבל ידיהא וינהי בסאמיהא מא הוה עליה מן
אלשוק אלי

9 נצרהא ואלתאסף עלי מא יפות מן קרבהא ולמא כאן פי הדה אלגמעה
עולת עלי

10 אלדכול אלי סאמיהא פחצרו קום מן בלבים דכרו לעבדהא אן אבו
אלבהא אלדמשקי

11 אלדי פי אלקאהרה מקים אן מר אלי צלאח אלדין ואכד תוקיע בתקדמה אנה וקאלו עוד אלדין . . . . עבדה
במניה זפתא ודכרו

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[1] This seems to be a Jewish replica of the usual Muslim introduction بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. Cf. also Steinschneider, *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden*, p. xxxi.

[2] Psalm xli, 2.

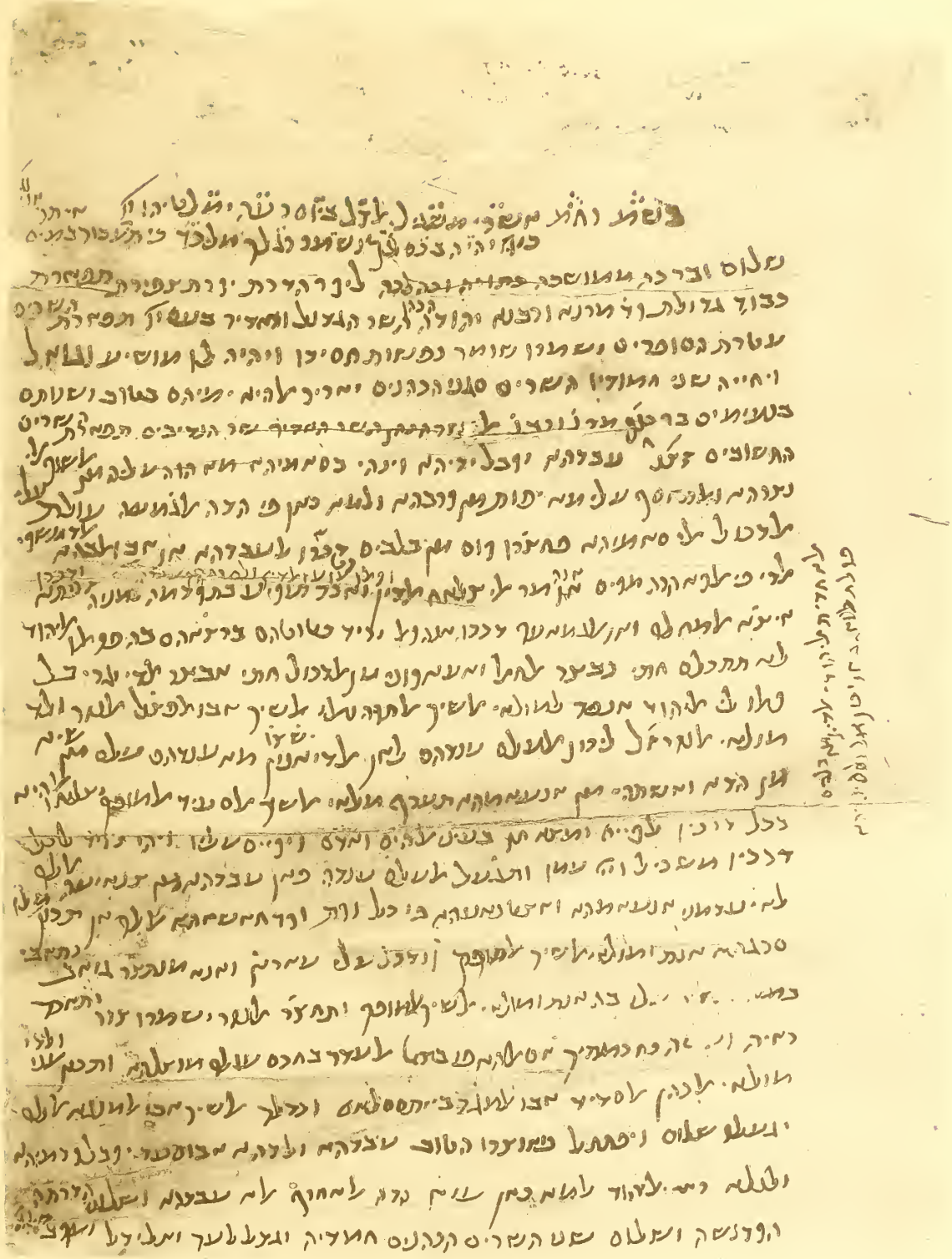
[3] Proverbs iii, 26. [4] Isaiah xliii, 2.

[5] For the use of חָמוּד in the sense of "son," cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 54, l. 8, 58.

[6] This alludes to the fact that the family was of priestly descent.

[7] Refers to Judah ha-Kōhēn in line 4.

[8] The feminine suffix here and in the following words is quite inexplicable—except as referring to תפארת in line 7.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 2 b

II. LETTER

A letter from Shabbatai, son of Abraham, Ḥābēr, of Minyat Zifta, to Judah ha-Kōhēn, the son of Eleazar, Dayyān of Bilbais, complaining that Jews of Bilbais are injuring his position in Minyat Zifta.

Shabbatai signed documents in A.D. 1154. Judah was appointed Dayyān in 1187, after which date our letter was probably written.

Recto:

1 In the name of Mercy[1]! Happy is he who takes cognizance of the poor; on the day of evil God will deliver him[2].

2 For God will be thy hope and will keep thy feet from stumbling[3], [as it is said:] "When thou goest through the water, I am with thee[4]."

3 Peace and prolonged blessing, as [promised in] the Law and in tradition, to the Honorable Crown of Glory,

4 his Illustrious Greatness, our Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great and Mighty Prince among the People of God, the Glory of Princes,

5 the Diadem of Scribes. May He preserve him who preserves his scattered pious ones, and may He be unto him a healer and deliverer!

6 May he also preserve in life his two sons[5], the princes, the assistant priests[6]. May God lengthen their days in the [enjoyment of] good things, and their years

7 in pleasantness—son of[7] our Lord and Master Eleazar ha-Kōhēn, the Prince, the Glorious, Chief among Princes, the Glory of Worthy

8 Princes. His slave kisses his hands[8], and brings to the attention of his Highness[9] how ardent his desire is for

9 his well being, and his regret (?) at the length of time during which he is away from him[10]. Now when it occurred in this week that I was boorishly denied entrance

10 to his Highness, people came from Bilbais and mentioned to his slave[11] that Abū al-Bahā of Damascus,

11 who was living in Cairo, had come to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn[12], and had taken a promise from him of promotion in Minyat Zifta[13], and they mentioned

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[9] Cf. Bodleian, No. 2874, 11: ינהי אלי סאמהא אן. السامى was one of the honorific titles used in Egyptian protocols. See the interesting discussion of these titles, from which come many of our Hebrew ones in these documents, in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. vi, p. 15, and Max van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, 446.

[10] The translation is a suggestion merely: ما يفوت من قربه.

[11] I.e. to himself, the writer.

[12] Between the lines there has been inserted: "And some say 'Awwād (written עוער) al-Dīn...his slave."

[13] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Egypte* (Vollers), v, 109; Mann, *op. cit.*, Index *s.v.*

12 איצא אלמחלה ואן אלגמאעה דכרו אנה קאל יריד כטוטהם ברצאהם בה
פקאלו אליהוד
13 לא תתכלם חתי נבצר אלחאל ואעאקוני ען אלדכול חתי אבצר אלדי יגרי בל
14 קאלו לי אליהוד אנפד למולאי אלשיך אלתקה ואלי אלשיך אבו אלפצל
אלנור ולד
15 מולאי אלנור זל ליכון מעלם ענדהם לאן אלדיאנין מא ענדהם עלם מן שיא
16 מן הדה ואשתהי מן אנעאמהא תערף מלאי אלשיך אלסעיד אלמופק יצליחו
אלהיא
17 בכל דרכיו אלקיים ימצא חן בעיני אלהים ואדם ויקיים עליו ויהי דויד לכל
18 דרכיו משכיל ויי עמו ותגעל אלעלם ענדה פאן עבדהא מן צנאיעה אללה
19 לא יעד מני אנעאמהא ואצטנאעהא פי כל וקת וקד חאשאהא אללה אן
תכון מלו
20 סרגהא אנת ומולאי אלשיך אלמופק ונדכל עלי עאדנן ואנא מנתצר גואב
כתאבי
21 במא .....[ע]לי בה אנת ומולאי אלשיך אלמופק ותחצר אלנור ישמרהו צור
ותאכד
22 ראיה ו..ה בחכמתיך אסאלהא פי בצט אלעדד בחכם עולם מוצלהא
ותכון עני ואלדי
23 מולאי אלכהן אלסדיד אבו אלמגרבי יתם סלאם וכדלך אלשיך אבו אלמנגא
אללה
24 יגעלה שלום ויפתח אל מאוצרו הטוב עבדהא ולדהא אבו סעד יקבל קדמיהא
25 ולולא ראי אליהוד למא כאן עון הדה אלאחרף אלא עבדהא ושלום הדרתה
26 הקדושה ושלום שני השרים הכהנים חמדיה יגדל לעד ואלי דל יעקוב האלה

Margin:

אלא חדית אליהודי אלדין מן בלבים
פקלת אלואגב אן יכון לעלם ענדהא

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11 Between Alexandria and Damietta. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62.

15 مولى.

16 Above are the letters יש צר = ישמרהם צורנו, "May our Rock preserve them."

17 תערף = تُعرّف. 18 Written מלאי.

19 After Nehemiah ii, 20.

20 Or אלפיים.

21 Proverbs iii, 4.

also al-Maḥallah[14], and a lot of them added that he had said that he wished their signature, expressing their satisfaction with him. The Jews answered:

"Do not say anything until we have looked into the matter." They prevented me from coming, so as to learn what had happened. But

the Jews said to me, "Write to our master[15], the Sheikh al-Thiḳah and to Sheikh Abū al-Faḍl al-Nūr, son of

our master al-Nūr, that he become a teacher among them, because the judges[16] have no knowledge whatsoever

concerning the matter." I desire that his Grace should inform[17] our master[18] the Sheikh al-Sa'īd al-Muwaffiḳ—may God prosper him[19]

in all his ways .....[20]—may he find grace in the eyes of God and of man[21], and may there be applied to him the Biblical verse: "And David was

intelligent in all his doings, and God was with him[22]"—and make the matter known to him. Now his slave[23]—the least of God's children—

has not been lacking his[24] favor and his good will at all times. God forbid that you should be in a divided state of mind[25],

you and my master al-Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ! Let us return to our usual custom. I am awaiting an answer to my letter

in regard to what [you reply to][26] me—you and my master the Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ. Bring al-Nūr—may the Rock preserve him!—and get

his view.....and.....in thy wisdom[27]. I would ask you boldly[28] for help for all time to come; and that you serve me in the place of a father.

My best greetings to my master the righteous priest al-Maghrabī; and so also to the Sheikh Abū al-Munajja[29]. May God

grant him peace! May God open for him His good treasure[30]! His slave and his [slave's] son[31] kiss his feet.

And were it not for the opinion of the Jews, these words would not have been written so mysteriously about[32] your slave. Greetings to his

Holiness, and greetings to the two priestly princes, his sons. May he be exalted forever, and the poor of Jacob.....

Margin:

In regard to[32] the case of the Jew [and] the Dayyān of Bilbais, I said: "It is right that he should be informed."

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[22] I Samuel xviii, 14. After this long interruption, the text is taken up from line 16 as if nothing had intervened. [23] The writer. [24] The addressee's.

[25] A pure guess. The text seems perfectly plain מלו סרנהא, the feminine suffix (cf. note 8. הא = ـُه- = -u in this text) referring to the addressee. Lane (p. 1343) notes an old Arabic expression from the Ḥamāsah: مال سرجك "thy affair has become in a disordered state." Perhaps ملوى سرجه with the same import.

[26] The words are all blurred here. [27] Plural.

[28] Reading בצט = بساط. As in modern Cairene, the emphatic ط changes س into ص.

[29] Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 215.

[30] Cf. Deut. xxviii, 12. [31] Read וולדהא.

[32] אלא means "concerning," and probably stands for على.

Verso :

1 ובעד גמיע מא צטרתה חצרו קום יהוד ערפוני אן קאל דבאח אנפד אלי
הדייה
ענד אבו אלבהא וקל לה
2 פלישתמך ואנפד לה הדיה וקאל לה כד לי אלתקדמך באסמך ואנא אפעל
לך גמיע מא תריד
3 ונבצר אן כאן צהרה ינפעה ובאללה עליך אן תוצית ענה אנא אערף עדרך
ואלשיך אלמופק הוה ינפד
4 דלך קאלה בג וינכיר עליך פעלה אנהא ממלוכהא דלך ועף בשלום

Address :

1 אלהדרת כגק מרנא ורבנא יהודה הכהן השר הגדול [האדיר]
2 בעם יו הירא את יו יהי שמו לעולם בר כגק מרנ ורבנ אלעזר
3 הכהן שר הנדיבים תפארת השרים החשובים זל
4 עבדהא לא עדם
בקאהא
שבתי בירבי אברהם הדיין
החבר תנצבה

---

[33] צטרתה = سطرته. Cf. note 28.

[34] النبّاح.

Verso:

1 And after all that I have written[33] a number of Jews came and informed me that Dabbāḥ[34] said "Send to Abū al-Bahā a present, and say to him:

2 'May it not insult you.'" So he sent him a present, and said: "Get the promotion for me in your name, and I shall do for you all that you wish."

3 We shall see if his brother-in-law will help him. By Allah! It is for you to command concerning him. I know your excuse. The Sheikh al-Muwaffiḳ—let him send.

4 This he said.....[35] And let him find fault with him for what he has done. Verily this is your servant. Good luck!

Address:

1 To our Glorious Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great and Mighty Prince

2 among the people of God, who fear God—May his name be remembered forever—son of our Lord and Master Eleazar

3 ha-Kōhēn, Prince of the Noble, Glory of Renowned Princes,

4 [Signed:] Shabbatai, son of Rabbi Abraham the Judge, the Ḥābēr, his slave. May he never be bereft of him[36]!

---

[35] Do בנ stand for بجميع "in all"?

[36] Reading لا عدم بقاءه.

III. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The paper is now much damaged, and the ink pale. The handwriting is so slovenly that whole groups of letters assume the same form. On the other hand, the same letter of the alphabet may assume many forms. The number of possible readings is thus very great, and their value correspondingly small. If the language were even tolerably pure and the thought connected, translation might still be possible. But the writer is vague and incoherent—perhaps even intentionally cryptic and mysterious. One doubts that Arabic is his natural tongue at all. It may be safely said that this letter would not have been clear even to a contemporary Egyptian acquainted with the secret diplomacy of the situation. Cf. Nos. XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יאבי וסי[די] אלעזיז עלי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם סל[אמתך]
2 וסעאדתך מן אסכנדריה לז׳ איאם בקין מן שהר איר עץ סלאמה
3 ונעמה ושוק אליך קרב אללה אלאגתמע בך עלי אפצל חאל ומא
4 תריד עלמה אן תקדם כתאבי אליך מע אלכלבים יערפוך פיה
5 וצול כתאבך אלי עלא ואנת תקול לה לא תדפע לאבי .... אל[א]
6 בעד אלעיד וקד סאלתך אן תפ[ע]ל אל . ורין אלקנע .....
7 לה ידפעוה אלי פי איר וסיון אן יגעלהא פי ניסן ואיר
8 לאנה שהר אן עטים לים הו מתל אלשהר ועלינא פיה
9 לגיראננא לואזם ונחן מנתטרין ללגואב תם בעד הדא
10 וצל חסון ווצל מעה כתאבך ואנת תדכר פיה .....
11 וקד רעֵ . [אלי]ום כתאבי אליך וקד ואללה יאבי סאלנאה פי ..
12 שראביה ידפעהא לנא אבא יפעל לא הו ולא עלאן וחק
13 הדה אלאחרף אן נמור לה פי האגה לא מתל ואחד ימור
14 אלי כניסיה עבודה זרה לאן לים הון יהודי תמור יקציך

---

1 Quite plainly, Hebrew כלבים, meaning "rascals"? Cf. No. XXI, *recto*, line 5

2 עלא would seem to be عَلَيَّ and not عُلَّى. But our fragment No. I gives in line 5 עולא, and so we have read עלא as عُلَّى throughout the collection. Cf. also Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimids*, p. 283, col. 3, line 8.

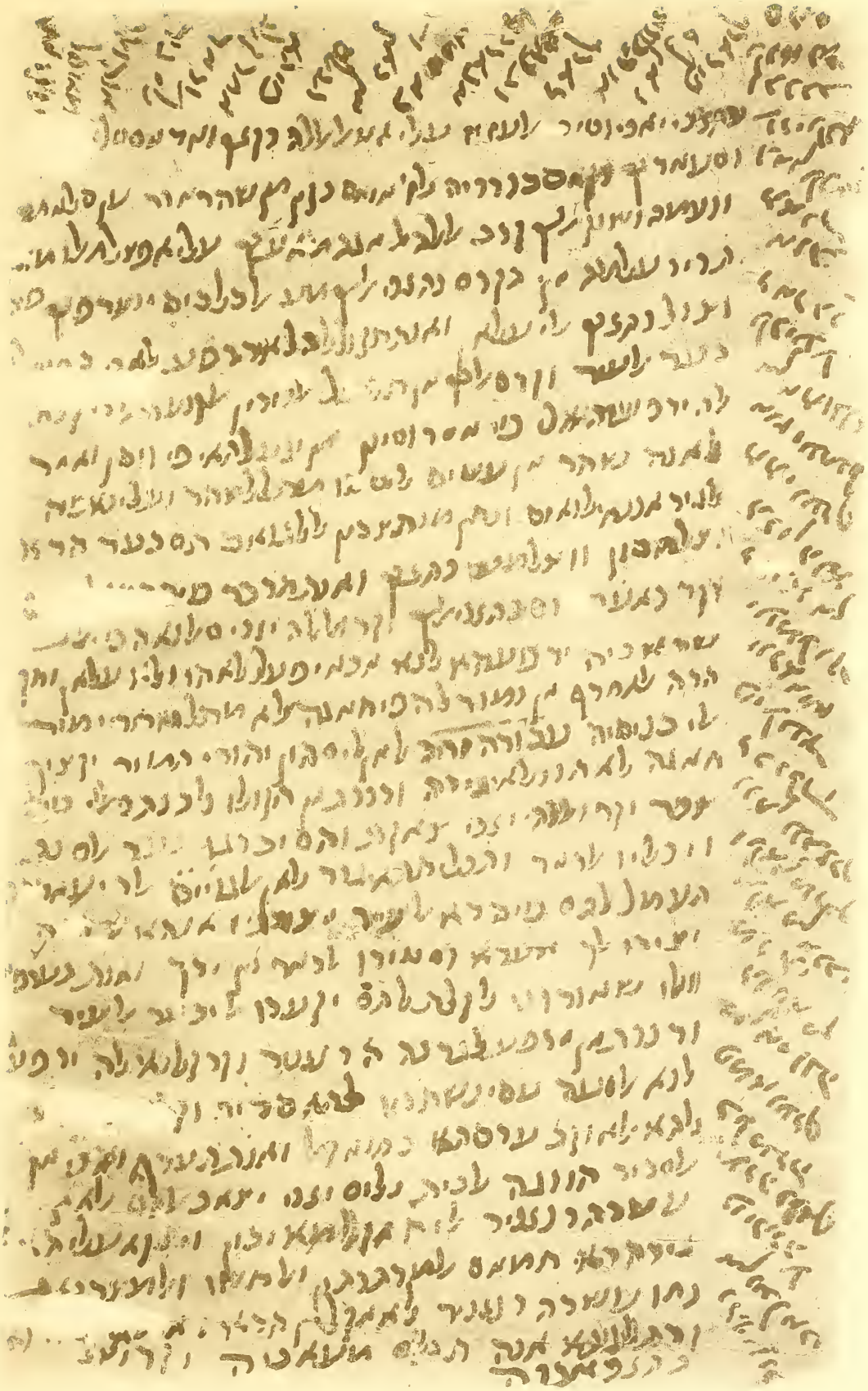
3 I.e. Nisan.

4 וקד ואללה is evidently an oath. Is it for وَالقَدْر وَاللهِ? Cf. line 16.

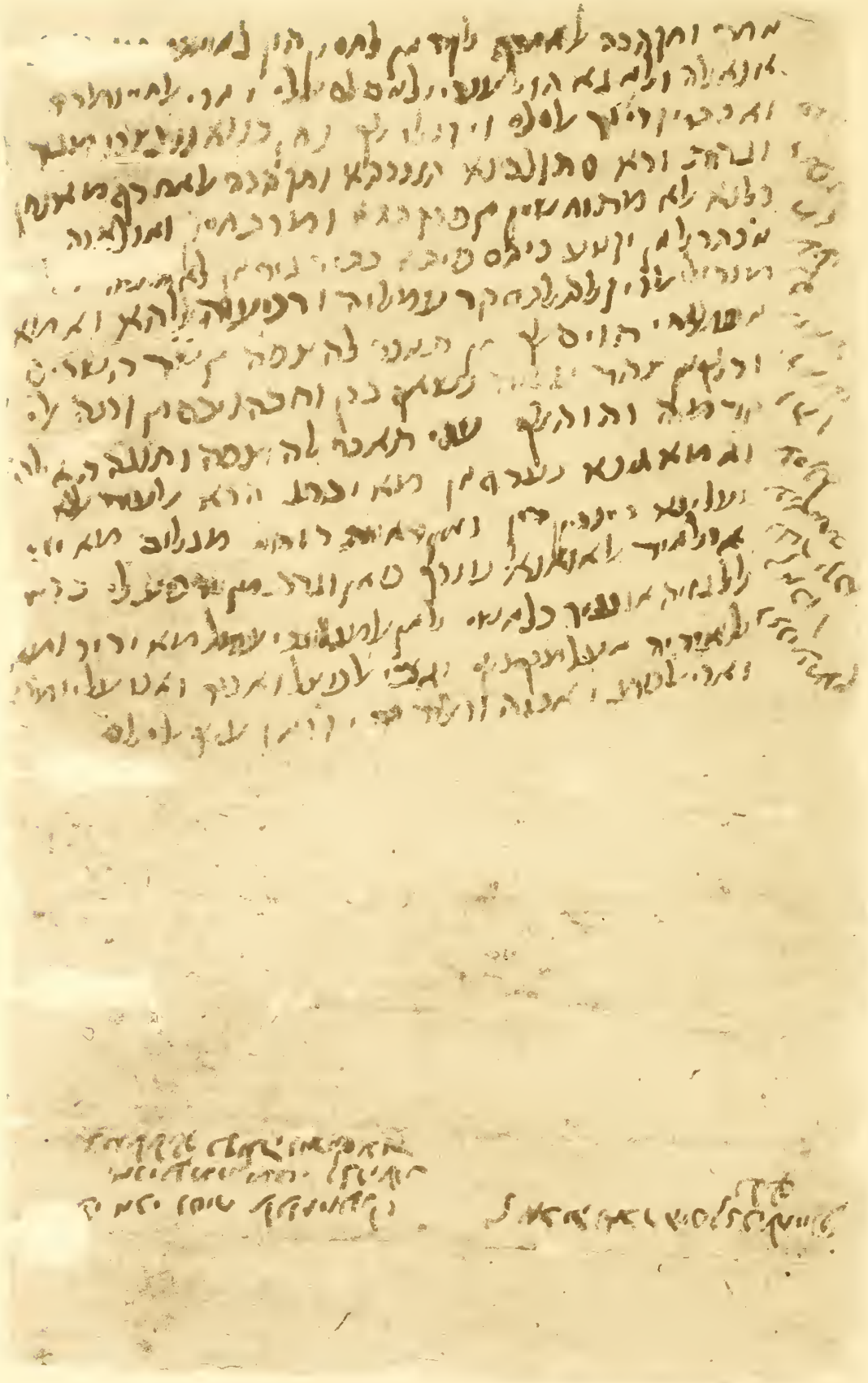
5 שראביה for شِرَاكَة.

6 أَخًا.

7 נמור : perhaps for نَمْر etc.



Genizah Fragment 3 a



Genizah Fragment 3 b.

III. LETTER

A letter from a certain Abraham, "Reader of the Law," probably stopping in Alexandria, to his brother, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, "Reader of the Law," probably living in Fusṭāṭ. There is no date.

There is mention of business concerns and troubles; especially difficulties arising from the circumstance that a heavy poll-tax was being levied on a small number of Jews. We learn incidentally that bedsteads were scarce; and that passages from the Song of Solomon were used—in what manner we are not told—to cure a drying up of the body, and boils. Some female relatives and children have outstayed their welcome and are quarrelling with one another; and similar tittle-tattle.

Recto:

1 My letter to [you], O my Brother and my Lord! God prolong your life and continue your health
2 and your prosperity! From Alexandria, 7 days remaining of the month of Iyyar. About health
3 and well-being and yearning for you! God grant a speedy reunion with you under the most propitious circumstances! And what
4 you wish to know: My letter has gone forward to you with the dogs[1] who will tell you about it.
5 The arrival of your letter to 'Ulā[2]! And you say to him: "Do not pay Abū.....until
6 after the festival." And I have already asked you to make the.....
7 for it, they paying it to me in Iyyar and Sivan, if they will make them in Nisan and Iyyar,
8 because it[3] is an important month: It is not like the month [of Iyyar]. And we are responsible in [the matter]
9 to our neighbors for necessary expenses, and we are waiting for the answer. Then, after this
10 arrived Ḥassūn, and your letter arrived with him. And you mention in it.....
11 But my letter has already.....to you today. By Allah, my Brother[4]! We asked him about.....
12 collectively[5] pay it to us as a brother[6]: Neither he nor 'Allān should do it [singly]. And by
13 these very words [which I am writing]: If we go[7] to him about anything[8], it is not as though one went
14 to a church[9] of "Idol Worship[10]," because there is no Jew here [for] you [to] go [to to have him] do [something] for you:

---

[8] حاجه is modern Egyptian colloquial for "thing."

[9] كنيسة. Cf. No. XXVII, note 32.

[10] The Hebrew title of a Mishnah tractate.

15 חאגה לא הו ולא גירה ודכרת אן תקולו לכנת פאלת טול
16 צפר וקד ואללה יאכי צאק .. והם יכרגו בעד אלסנת
17 ויכליו אלדאר ותכליתהא גיר לאן אלגויים אלדי עאד ..
18 תעמל להם פי הדא אלעיד יעני אנהא ....
19 יצירו לך אעדא ויטירו אלדאר מן ידך ואנת תערף
20 וולו שאורוני לקלת להם יקעדו אלי בעד אלעיד
21 ודכרת אן ידפע לגרנה ה דנאניר וקד קלנא לה ידפעה
22 לנא אלסעה עסי נשתריו להא סריר וק[ד .....]
23 להא אלא וקת ערפהא כמא קאל ואנת תערף יאכי אן
24 אלסריר הו וגה אלבית ולים יאכי יצאב אליום לאן
25 עשרה דנאניר אליה אקל למא יכון ויבקא עליהא
26 גיר הדא חמאם אלמרגתין ואלחשו ואלמצריאת
27 נחו עשרה דנאניר לא אקל מן הדא וא .....
28 קד בלגנא אנה תכ״ס מעאניה וקד וצל
29 כתאב אבוה

Margin:

והו יקול אן וצל אכי פי הדא אלמרה כלאף כל מרה פמא נערף מן אי וגה תולא מן מרתי ולא מן אכתי ולא אן מרתך ונחן ננתצרה דכולה פי אלעיד ונרא איש יעמל וקד ...א אן תכון הנא חתי נערף איש יעמל אן אחוגנא לביע אל דאר ת .. אנת תאכד תמן אלנצף אלדי לנא אן .... לנא ... ס ... פי דארך ואן לם אנת תביע דארך ו ..... אן כאן תכלם פיהא אחר קלת אלדאר לי גיר אנת ואללל[ה] מא וסל עלי אן

Verso:

1 אחר וחקה בה לא יכף לקד אן לחסין הון .....
2 אנא לה ולא גא הו לעגדי ולא סלם עלי יאכי אלחי ומרתך
3 ואכתך יקריך אלסלם ויקולו לך נחן כננא ננתצרו מנך

---

11 وَقْت for אוקת 12 وَجْه "face."

13 עלי carelessly used as elsewhere in these fragments.

14 The word looks like חשו, حَشْو "stuffing."

15 مَعَانِيهِ, plural of مَعْنى with suffix.

15 neither he nor anyone else [is a Jew]. And you have remarked in your
letter: "If you say.....
16 .....By Allah, my Brother!.....and they go after the year [is up]
17 and leave the house; and its abandonment is otherwise [than you might
expect or wish], because the gentiles who.....
18 you do for them during this festival. That is to say: It...
19 and become enemies, and tear the house to pieces out of your hand, and
you know.....
20 But if they had consulted me I should have said to them [that] they
should remain until after the festival.
21 And you mentioned that he should pay to our neighbor 5 dīnārs, and we
had told him that he should pay it
22 to us at once. Perhaps we can buy for her a bed and...
23 for her at the time[11] of her wedding, as he said. And you know, my
Brother, that
24 the bed is the most important thing[12] in the house. And it is not [easily]
got nowadays, my Brother, because...
25 ten dīnārs to him at the very least. And there remains for[13] her
26 besides this: pigeons, the two pearls, the.....[14] and the Egyptian [gold-
pieces]—
27 about ten dīnārs, not less than this, and.....
28 News has reached us that he.....his affairs[15]."
And there arrived
29 the letter of his father.

Margin:

And he says that my brother has arrived this time contrary to every [other] time. And we do not know for what reason he turns away from my wife and not from my sister, and not from your wife. And we await his coming at the [time of the] festival, and we shall see what[16] he will do. And.....that you be here until we know what[16] he will do: whether he will compel us to sell the house.....you take the value of the half which belongs to us. If.....to us.....in your house. And if not, you sell your house.....if you speak about it after I have said: "The house is mine, not you[rs]—By Allah!.....

Verso:

1 other.....and his equity in it. Let him not be afraid because[17] al-Ḥusein
is here.....
2 I.....to him. But he did not come to my house, nor did he salute me,
O my living Brother, and your wife
3 and your sister.....the salutation. And they say to you: We have
been expecting it of you,

---

[16] איש is modern colloquial Syrian Arabic, from أَيُّ شَيْءٍ.

[17] לקד אן is perhaps لِقَدْرِ أَنْ.

4 וגהת ורא סת ולכנא תזכרתא ומן הדה אלאחרף מא נחן
5 כלנא לא מתוחשין מן פרקתהא ומרת חסון ואולאדה
6 אכתר לאן יקטע פיהם פיהא כתיר גיר אן לא .....
7 מנדיל אלדי קלת להם קד עמלוה ודפעוה להא ואמא
8 אבולחי הו יסאלך אן תאכד לה צפה מן שׂר השרים
9 ודלך אן צהר עליה נשאף בדן וחבה ויבסין ורנה אלי
10 קרמה והו האלך שי תאכד לה צפה ותוגההא לה
11 ואמא אנא נערף אן מא יכרג הדא אלעיד אללא
12 ועלינא דינרין דין ואן ראית רוחה מגלוב מא יגי
13 אול איר אלא ואנא ענדך פאן וגדת מן ידפע לי בר ..
14 ללגזיה אועיך בלא שי לאן אלמגלוב יעמל מא יריד ומא
15 לאידיה אעלמתך . יאבי אלפצל ואכתך ואבו עלי ומר[תו]
16 ואבי אלפרג ואבנה וואלד .....ו עליך אלסלם

There is some further writing on the right-hand margin; but only a word here and there can be made out.

Margin:

לאבי עמראן בן אבו .....

[א]לי אבי וסידי אלעזיז עלי מן אביהו אברהים קארי אלת" ...
אבי עמראן מסי קארי אלת אללה
אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם עזה

---

18 He meant to write תזכרנא. 19 نِشَاف?

4 behind a lady's back. But we remember[18]." And by these words [which
I am writing], not we,
5 any of us, will be desolated by the pain of separation from her; and the
wife of Ḥassūn and his children
6 still more! Because there is no estrangement between them and her;
very much so, without.....
7 handkerchief which I said to them they had made it and paid for it. And
as for
8 Abū al-Ḥayy, he asks you to take for him a description from the Song of
Solomon.
9 For there appeared upon him a drying up[19] of the body, and a boil, and
dry patches, and a.....
10 of his foot. And he is perishing.....you take him a description [from the
Song of Solomon], and send it to him[20].
11 But we know that this festival will not pass without
12 our being in debt two dīnārs. And if I see him bankrupt (?), he will not
come
13 on the first of Iyyar, unless I am at your house. And if I could find
someone who would pay me.....
14 for the poll-tax, I would take care of you for nothing, because the bank-
rupt does what he wishes and what comes
15 to hand. And I have informed you...O my Brother most excellent, and
your sister, and Abū 'Ulā, and his wife,
16 and Abū al-Faraj, and his son, and the parents of.....And upon you
be the Peace!

Margin:

To Abū 'Umrān Ibn Abū.....

To my Brother and Lord the Beloved, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, Reader of
the Law.....God lengthen his life, and continue his strength!
From his brother, Abraham, Reader of the Law.....[If it please] God.

---

[20] I.e. as an aphrodisiac amulet? Skin diseases and their cure by bathing at Tiberias are mentioned by Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 166, and ref.

IV. LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
A business letter in Arabic, in a clear, cursive Hebrew hand.

1 אלי מגלס סיידנא אלריים ירום הדו ויגדל כבדו ואלממלוך
2 ינהי אן כאן אלמולא יום אן האסבני ואסתקר אן מסטור
3 בן גראב מא לופאה עאקה ואגתמע בך אלשיך אלמהרב
4 פי מענאה וקלת לה אן אלמולא יקול ללדיאן אבו אלפרג
5 אן יחט אלורקה מן אלצירפי באלמבלג ומהמא עאזה
6 יכמלה מן תמן אלצנדרום ואלטרטיר ואלאן פמא אסתופא
7 אלרגל שיא ואלאמר אליום לה כמסה עשר יום ואלרגל פ
8 פהו ואצל פי הדה אליומין ויבקא אלמסטור [מפ]תוח כמא הי
9 עליה פיחל לך מן אללה אן תחאסבני בשיא ולם יצל
10 לי מסטורה פאשתהי אן ינפצל הדה אלאמר אליום אן אגדה
11 קבל מגי בן גראב וקד גא אברם אלבארח ודכר לי ען
12 צלחתכם פי אלדאר אלצגירה וגרא ביני ובינה אקבח
13 מא יכון מן מענאהא פלא תנפצלו לא פי צלחה
14 ולא פי מכאתבה חתי ינפצל מעי פיהא פי מא יחצני
15 פאנא מא אבד פי גראב אקל מן כמסה עשר דינאר

Margin:

אלא אן כאן לה חכם או ביע צלחו וחדה פיערפני סיידנא וחדה יתם ולא
יעוק סיידנא ען ממלוכה אלגואב ומא אקדר אצף לסיידנא מא גרא ביננא
אלבארח וחלם סיידנא יסע ממלוכה

---

[1] On the use of مجلس in this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément*, *s.v.*; *Oriental. Lit. Zeitung*, 1906, p. 362. It is probable that the Hebrew מושב is merely a translation from the Arabic. See, further, Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, Index, p. 419.

[2] رئيس or رئّيس = ראש. Probably purely a honorific title here. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 262, 266.

[3] Read הדו.

[4] المملوك. A term of servility very often used in letters. Cf. Brit. Mus. Or. 5542, No. 23:

אלממלוך אבן סעיד יקבל אלארץ בין ידי אלמולי אלשיך .....

which ends:

ויישתהי אלממלוך אלהואב מן גיר ישער אחד ושלום

Many other instances could be cited. The Jews translated it into עבד. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 330, note 1.

[5] يَوْمٌ = יום.

[6] Read יחאסבני. Cf. line 9.

[7] مسطور "document."

[8] Punctuated according to al-Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, (de Jong), p. 384.

Genizah Fragment 4

IV. LETTER

A certain Ibn Ghurāb has borrowed money of the writer of the letter, and cannot repay it, although he has merchandise on hand. The addressee, an unnamed prominent man (ra'īs), is now asked to assume the debt, take over the merchandise, and arrange matters with the judge, Abū al-Faraj, and the money-changer or banker, as he has promised to do. There has also been some trouble about a certain piece of real-estate. There seems to be no way of dating this letter.

1 To his Excellence[1], our Master, the Ra'īs[2], may his glory[3] be exalted
and his honor extolled. The servant[4] begs to say that
2 if the Master intends[5] to settle accounts with me[6], it is certain that in
regard to the account[7] of
3 Ibn Ghurāb[8], there will be no difficulty in collecting it. The Sheikh
al-Muharrab met with you [to consult]
4 about his affair and you promised him that the Master would speak to
the judge, Abū al-Faraj,
5 that he [write] the document from the money-changer[9] for the [entire]
amount, and that whatsoever was wanting
6 he would make good from the sale[10] of the resin and the tartar[11]. Now,
the man has not paid
7 any part of it. The matter has been going on now for fifteen days.
The man
8 is coming within the next two days. The account will be left open as it
stands
9 against him. It is permitted you by God that you settle with me in some
manner. No account
10 has come to me. I wish today that this affair be settled, that I may
have[12] [the account]
11 before Ibn Ghurāb comes. Now yesterday, Abram came and mentioned
to me your
12 agreement about the small dwelling. Between him and me there arose
13 the worst kind of discussion. Do you not settle with him, either by
agreement
14 or by written document, until he has settled with me about it, in regard
to the share that is to come to me.
15 I shall not accept for[13] Ghurāb(?) less than fifteen dīnārs.

Margin:

But, if he has a judgment or has made a sale, do you make an agreement with him alone. In such a case, may my Master acquaint me of it. It is all right [to settle with him] alone(?). May my Master not withhold from his servant an answer. I am not able to describe to my Master what happened between us yesterday. May the kindness of our Master encompass his servant!

[9] Or "banker."
[10] Literally: "price."
[11] צנדרוס = سندروس.
[12] Literally: "find it."
[13] فى.

V. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Carefully written in half-square Hebrew characters, in fairly good mediaeval Hebrew. The paper is torn and the writing illegible in many places.

On the *verso* there is an address, but it is illegible save for the words:

יקרת.....המעותד לשם [יעקב] בר יוסף החסיד.....

Also on the *verso*, but upside-down, in very faded script which appears to be older than that on the *recto*, are portions of verses from the Bible, as follows: Isaiah lxv, 8, 9, 13, 16–18, 20 (קדוש for ירושלם)–25; lxvi, 1, 2, 5, 7–14, 18–23. Judges xv, 15–19; xvi, 28. We cannot imagine their purpose.

At the top of the *recto* are a few scrawled Arabic letters of no apparent import.

This letter was written to a Gā'ōn Jacob Ben Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh, perhaps the Jacob Ben Joseph Ab-Bēth-Dīn who as rabbi signed documents at Fusṭāṭ in A.D. 1016 and 1018, and did the same at Aleppo in 1028. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 37, 150. The writer of the letter is an important person in Jerusalem. At the time when this Jacob was in Fusṭāṭ the chief dignitary in Jerusalem was Josiah Gā'ōn. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 71 ff. His letters are not unlike this in their opening words. The "glorious place" which collapsed was probably a synagogue; and the cause may have been the earthquake of A.D. 1016. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 72, 156.

Recto:

1 ל.....מות בשם צנופי עטרות [ח]בירי תורות מורי להורות זקני ...

2 .....שם טוב לכתוב הוא כגק מר יעקב המעותד לשם בגאון יעקב

3 כל עומד [בח]כמתו וירא .....ענותו ישמרהו אל וינצרו ויעזרו ויהי בעזרו

4 ויחיהו יז. ורו בר יוסף החסיד נעי שלום שלום אליך אהוב וחביב ורע...

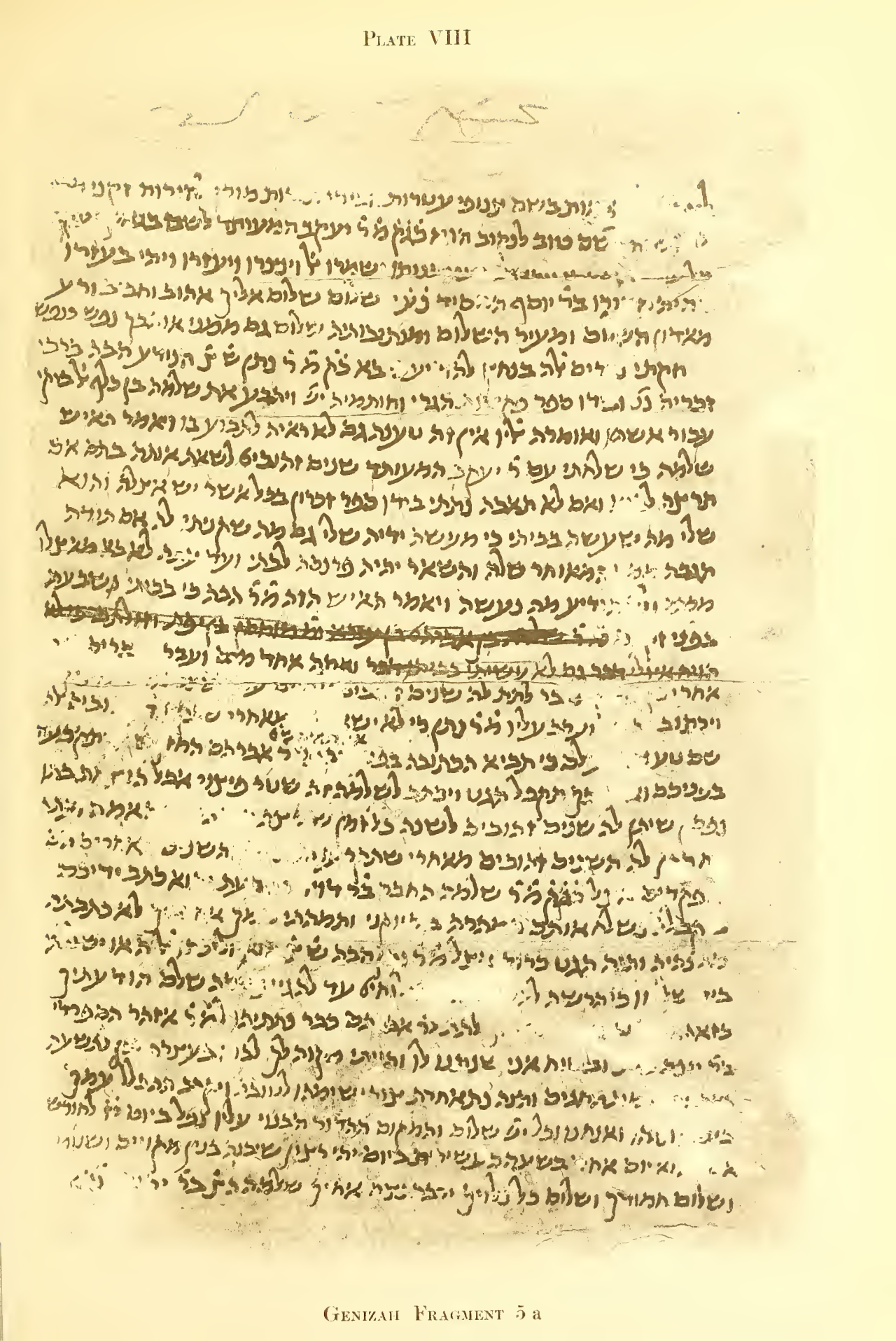
5 מאדון השלום ומעיר השלום ומנתיבותיה ושלום גם ממני אוהבך נפש כנפש

6 חקתי נירים אלה בנחין להודיע בבא כק מר נתן שצ הנודע הבה ברבי

7 זכריה נע ובידו ספר פק[דון]ות הגרי וחותמיה יני ויתבע את שלמה בן כלף אלבוקי

8 עבור אשתו ואומרה אליו אין זה טענה גם לא ראיה לתבוע בו ואמר האיש

[1] I.e. Ha-Me'uttadh. Early in the eleventh century the Egyptian Jews broke away from the authority of their brethren in Palestine and established a religious and legal school (Yeshībhah) that went by this name "Ge'ōn Ya'ḳōb." See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 191.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 5 b

V. LETTER

Apparently Jacob had left Jerusalem some time before, bearing a commission from Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī in Jerusalem to his wife in Fusṭāṭ. Solomon had given Jacob two gold-pieces with which to pay her way to Jerusalem. Evidently he expected trouble, for he gave to Jacob a statement of his possessions in his house at Fusṭāṭ and directions to take possession of these. The only response that came was another messenger, Nathan or Hibah by name, son of Zachariah, who arrived in Jerusalem with a protest from the wife that Solomon had no grounds for his action. Nathan next undertook to carry to the wife in Fusṭāṭ a letter of divorce, which he promised to deliver to her in the presence of a certain Abraham the Ḥazzān.

Nathan appears with all the documents and with Solomon's statement that it was in the house of the writer that Jacob had sworn to carry the original message to the wife. The writer is equally certain that nothing of the kind ever took place under his roof, nor had he heard of the affair at all. He now writes in great haste to Jacob and tells him that he is sending by a Spaniard, al-Azhar, a copy of the wife's protest, which is to be delivered to Abraham, the intended witness of the divorce proceedings. Incidentally it is said that a certain "glorious place" in Jerusalem has collapsed.

Recto:

1 To.....in the name of those who are enwrapped in turbans, Ḥābērs of doctrines, teachers of doctrines, elders.....

2 .....a good name to write it is: Master Jacob, "The Appointed[1]" to be called by [the title] Ge'ōn Jacob!

3 Everyone who tastes of his wisdom and beholds (?).....his humility. May God keep him, and preserve him and assist him, and be his help,

4 and enliven him (?).....son of Joseph the Pious. Peace! Peace be upon you! Beloved and dear, and friend (?).

5 From the Lord of Peace and from the City of Peace, and from her paths! And peace also from me who love you as my own life!

6 I write these pages earnestly, to inform [you] of the arrival of Master Nathan, messenger of the congregation[2], known [in Arabic as] Hibah[3], son of Rabbi

7 Zachariah, bringing an Arabic[4] document of deposits and its seals. And it makes demands of Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī[5]

8 about his wife. And she says to him [in the document] "This [document of yours which you have sent me] is not a [proper] complaint, nor does it contain proof [justifying] a demand." And the man Solomon said:

---

[2] שׁ"צ = שליח צבור.

[3] Shortened from הבת אללה as נתן from נתנאל.

[4] הגרי "of Hagar."

[5] From Būḳ, the name of a river near Baghdad. See Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 762; *Muschtarik*, p. 71.

9 שלמה כי שלחתי עם ר׳ יעקב המעותד שנים זהובים לשאת אותה בהם אם
10 תרצה ל[בוא] ואם לא תאבה נתתי בידו ספר זכרון בכל אשר יש אצלה
והוא
11 שלי מה שעשה בביתי כי מעשה ידיה שלי גם מה שקניתי לה אם תודה
12 תגבה ממ[נ]ה מאוחר שלה והשאר יהיה פרנסה לבתי ועד עתה לא בא
מאצלו
13 מכ[תב] ול[א] הודיע מה נעשה ויאמר האיש הזה מר׳ הבה כי בביתי נשבעה
14 בפני זק[ני]ם מר׳ שלמה בן אברהם בן עזרא וממוחמן בן יפת וזולתם כי לא
15 הויה אצלי דבר גם לא עשיתי בביתי דבר ואתה אחר מהם ועבר[ו
ר]ברים . . .
16 אחרי כן . . . . . בי לתת לה שנים ז[הו]בים . . ים ע . . . מ . . . . . ין
17 ויכתוב . . . . וערב עליו מר׳ ור׳ נתן כי לא יש[א לה] מאחרי שתין [יום כת]ובים
אלי
18 שם טע[נה] . . . לם כי תביא הכתובה בפנ[יו ו]בפני ר׳ אברהם החזן . . . תקרעה
19 בפניכם ו . . . . כך תקבל הגט ויכתב לשלמה זה שטר פיצוי אבל הוצאת
בתו
20 נפס[ה] שיתן לה שנים זהובים לשנה כל זמן שרצה . . . . . אמה ועתה
21 אתתן לה השנים זהובים מאחרי שתקרעו . . . . . השנים האחרים הם
22 [כ]פקרים אצל כנ״ק מר׳ שלמה החבר בר׳ דויד . . . עת והוא כתב ידיכם
23 [מ]קבל . . . נשלח אותם במהרה בדיוקני ותמהתי ממך אז איך לא כתבתה
24 מא נהיה והנה הגט כרות אצל מר׳ [ור׳ב] הבת שון הוא יוליכהו אליה או
ישלחו
25 בי[ר] של[וח]ו כי הרשה ל[נו לשלוח ש]לוחים עד להגיע לידה שלם
הודעתיך
26 בזאת . . . . . לתת לר׳ אב[ר]הם כבר נתתיה למר׳ אזהר הספרדי
27 בר׳ יונה [נע] ובטוח אני שנתנו לו והייתי מקוה לך לבו[א] בעצרת [ו]כן
לתשעה

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6 שֶׁעֹשֶׂה.

7 מאוחר has no article; but that is not uncommon in our texts.

8 This passage was deleted. 9 וזולתם?

10 About eight illegible letters are written above the line here.

9 "I sent by Rabbi Jacob Ha-Me'uttadh[1] two gold-pieces, with which to bring her, if
10 she were willing to come; and, if she did not desire [to come], I gave into his hand a document of memorandum as to all that was in her possession, namely:
11 'Mine is that which she made[6] in my house, for the work of her hands is mine as well as that which I bought for her. If she admits the claim,
12 collect from her her overdue[7] [debt], then the remainder shall be the support of my daughter.' But up to the present there has not come from him
13 any letter nor has he let [me] know what has been done." And this man, our Master Hibah, says that in my house an oath was taken
14 in the presence of elders, [8]*our Master Solomon Ben Abraham Ben Ezra, and Memūḥamān Ben Yapheth, and others*[9]. *But never*
15 *did there happen in my presence anything* [*like this,*] *nor did I do in my house anything* [*like this,*] and [that] you [Rabbi Jacob] were one of them. And things happened.....
16 After this.....by me to give her two pieces of gold.....
17 and he write.....And our Master Rabbi Nathan became surety for him that he would bring to her(?) after two days(?) documents thith-
18 er [as a] complaint.....she should produce the [marriage?] document, in his presence and in the presence[10] of Rabbi Abraham the Ḥazzān... .....and tear it up
19 in your presence. And.....she should receive the letter of divorce. .....And [that] he would write for this Solomon a document of damages. But [as for] the expenses of his daughter
20 herself(?), that he would give her two gold-pieces the year for as long as she wished.....her mother. And now
21 I shall give her the two gold-pieces after she has torn it up.....the later years
22 as a deposit with our Master Solomon the Ḥābēr, son of Rabbi David. And it is the writing of your hands
23 accepting.....We are sending them in haste with a duplicate[11] [for return]. And I was astonished at you then that you did not write
24 what was to happen. And behold [here is] the executed bill of divorce in the possession of our Master, Rabbi Hibah. He will take it to her or send it
25 by the hand of his messenger, for he has authorised [us to send] messengers, so that it may reach her safely. I have acquainted you
26 with this.....to give to Rabbi Abraham. I have already given it to our Master Azhar the Spaniard[12],
27 son of Rabbi Jonah, and I am confident that they have been given to him. And I have been hoping that you would come at the feast [of Weeks] and so also on the Ninth of

[11] דיוקני generally means "picture." [12] הספרדי.

28 באב ו[כן בי]מות החגים והנה נתאחרת צותי שימתו לטובה ויקרב ההפלל
עמך

29 ב .....הו ואנחנו וכל יני שלום והמקום ההדור הבנוי עליו נפל ביום יז
לחדוש

30 א[ב וה]וא יום אחד בשעה העשירית ביום יהי רצון שיבנה בנין מקויים
ושלום.

31 ושלום חמודך ושלום כל נלויך ירבה נצח אחיך שלמה כצ בר יהו[י] נעֹ

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[13] "My hearing of his situation for good has been delayed."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $11\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Four pages of Hebrew in square Hebrew writing.

The orthography is poor, and many words and passages are omitted.

The variants are probably not worth noting; and the text has accordingly not been printed here. This fragment has been studied by Professor Gottheil only.

28 Ab, and so also at the [other] feast days. And behold I have had to wait for good news of it[13]. And may the.....with you be near!
29 .....And we and all.....[14] are well. But the glorious[15] place, which had been built upon, fell on the 17th of the month
30 of Ab(?), and it was a Sunday, at the tenth hour of the day. May it be His pleasure to build a firm building! Greetings!
31 And greetings [to] your son, and greetings [to] all your relatives! [God] prolong the life of your brother Solomon, son of Rabbi Yaḥyā (?)— [May] his rest [be in] Eden!

[13] This abbreviation occurs in line 7 also. Does it mean "etc."?
[15] Or "steep," or "spiral."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

From the *Halākhōth Gedhōlōth* of Simeon Ḳayyāra, a Babylonian rabbinical authority of the ninth century.

In the edition of Hildesheimer, *Halachoth Gedoloth nach dem Texte der Handschrift der Vaticana*, Berlin, 1888, this text covers p. 138, lines 9–20; line 30–p. 139, line 13; p. 140, lines 6–24.

VII. MEMORANDUM

Paper $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters, cursive and not easily read, since the writer has apparently written quickly and automatically, without looking at the resulting forms of the letters. The Arabic has a strong vernacular coloring. Some of the names have Maghrabī, or north African forms. A little Aramaic phraseology is introduced.

Certain witnesses, whose names are signed at the end in square characters, testify to their belief in the truth of Bin Asad's account of his transactions with Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bu al-Faraj and Ṣadaḳah Bin Jacob, his partner: all apparently Jews.

1 נקול נתן אלשהוד אלתאבתין כטוטנא אחר הדה אלמוּדַ֫ע אן חצר

2 אלינא אלשיך אבו אלמ . . . [ב]ן מר ורבּ שמואל [כג] בן מר֫ ורבּ֫ יהודה נע

3 דיד֫יע בן אסר וקאל לנא֫ אעלמו אנני אנום פי כלמא אדכל תחתה

4 ל[א]בו אֻלעלא בן בו אלפרג דידיע בן עיאר֫ה לאנני כנת סלמת אלה ולצדקה

5 בן יעקוב דידיע בן אלקלעי שריכה אלף דינאר שרכה ביני ובינהם

6 עלי מא יקתציה אלשטר אלמכתתב עליהם ותוגהו אלי תגר אלאסכנדרה

7 חמאה אללה ואבצעו בעין אלבצאעה ענד אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלקצאת

8 ותצרפו פיהא פחצר מן אעלמני אנהם קד דכלו באידיהם פי אלמאל

9 ואכלוה פחצרת אלי תגר אלאסכנריה ואלתמסת מן אבו עלא בן בו אלפרג

---

[1] I.e. الثابتين خطوطُنا, if one should seek to justify the expression grammatically.

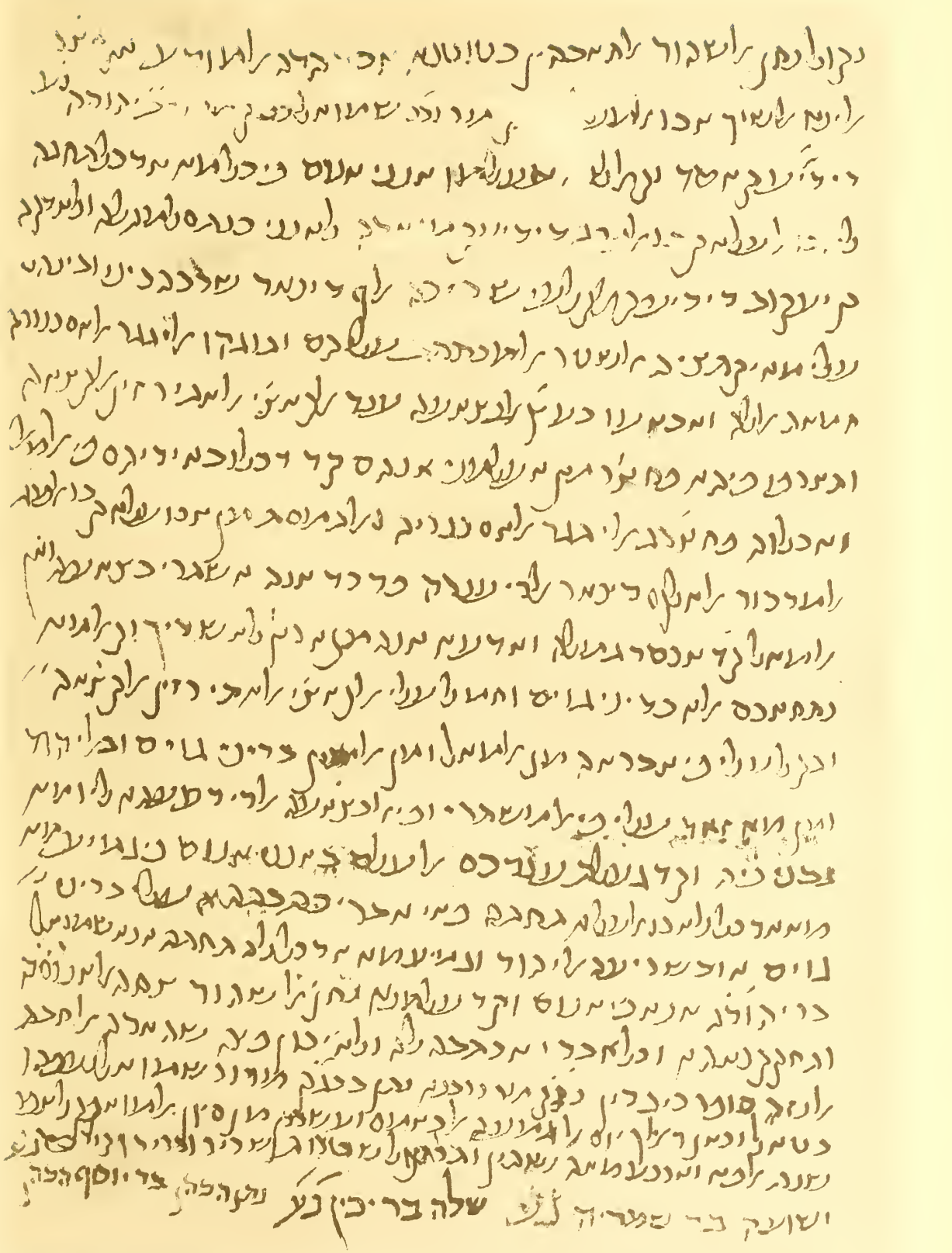
[2] Cf. Hebrew מוּדָע "mark" and Aramaic מוֹדַעְא "declaration of protest."

[3] Aramaic דִּידִיעַ in mediaeval Hebrew is not followed by the preposition ב. Cf. the same phrase *infra*, ll. 4, 5.

[4] בן here, and in ll. 4, 5 and 9 (?), is not Hebrew בֶּן nor the genealogical form of ابن in names, but the Maghrabī (Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Spanish) بِن = اِبْن. Note also בו, ll. 4, 9, for أَبو. This is also a Maghrabī form. Both arise from the ultima-accent of these dialects. In ll. 4, 9 we have the combination בן בואלפרג. ابن اسد has nothing to do with the tribe of Asad. It means "Son of a Lion" and is a play upon Gen. xlix, 9, and a substitute for "Jew" or "Judah," as in this case. Cf. the Western *Benari*, *Loewensohn*, *Loewe*, *Loew*, *Lowe*, *Lieuw*, *Loeb*, *Léon*, *Leo*, *Lion*, and variations. There is some confusion with לֵוִי and לֵב. Hence *Herz*, *Leben*, etc.

[5] אָנוּם is a very violently emotional Hebrew expression, used of rape and highway robbery.

[6] The expression أُدْخِل له تحته or أُدْخِل تحته له, "I pay in to him, to remain under his management."



VII. MEMORANDUM

It appears that Bin Asad loaned a large sum of money to Abū al-'Ulā and Ṣadaḳah Bin Jacob to invest at Alexandria, on terms that were stated in a document, and understood by Bin Asad to constitute a partnership. Some of the money was invested. Of the remainder a large part or all was either lost in speculation or stolen outright. Abū al-'Ulā asserted that some money had been lost, but that he was not liable for it, as he was merely an agent and not a partner. The matter was brought before a Muslim court, where Bin Asad was bullied by the Ḳāḍī and by his enemy, and confused with technicalities with which he is thoroughly disgusted. The court evidently decided against Bin Asad, and issued some document which put his case in a bad light. He goes to certain Jewish friends and tells his tale. He knows that he has lost the money: that is all. The fragment is the record of an indignation meeting held sometime in June of the year A.D. 1150.

1 We, the witnesses, whose signatures stand[1] at the end of this declaration[2], say that there appeared

2 before us the Sheikh Abū al....., son of our lord and master Samuel, son of our lord and master Judah,

3 who is known as[3] Bin Asad[4], and said to us: I have been robbed[5] in respect to all that I intrusted for investment

4 to[6] Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj, known as Bin 'Ayyāra(?), because I turned over to him[7] and to Ṣadaḳah

5 Bin Jacob, known as Bin al-Ḳal'ī, his partner, a thousand dīnārs[8], as a partnership between me and them

6 according to what the document required which was drawn up[9] concerning them. And they went to the city of Alexandria

7 —God defend it!—and invested some of the capital in the presence of the Ḳāḍī[10], al-Athīr, Ornament of the Ḳāḍīs,

8 and they got control of it[11]. And someone came and informed me that they had already gone into the property with their hands

9 and had eaten it up. And I went to the city of Alexandria[12] and I entreated Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj,

---

[7] אלה for لَه, as in Syrian vernacular *ilō*.

[8] The dīnār, according to the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Faiyūmī (about A.D. 1333/4—we quote through Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*), was a gold coin weighing $71\frac{1}{2}$ or $68\frac{4}{7}$ grains of wheat, the same as the mithḳāl. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine.

[9] אלמכתוב.

[10] I.e. the judge.

[11] I.e. the thousand dīnārs.

[12] Misspelled as before, but differently.

10 אלמדכור אלאלף דינאר אלדי ענדה פדכר אנה אשתרי בצאעה ואן
11 אלמאל קד אכסר גמלה ואדעא אנה מקארץ לא שריך וקאל מא
12 נתחאכם אלא כדיני גוים וחמל עלי אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלהצאה
13 ותקל עלי פי אבראה מן אלמאל ומן אלימין כדיני גוים וכאליהוד
14 ומן מא זאד עלי פי אלמשתרי ופי אלבצאעה אלדי דפעהא לי ומא
15 גבני פיה וקד געלת ענדכם אלעלם באנני אנוס פי גמיע מא
16 מא אדכל לאבו אלעלא תחתה פאי אברי כתבתהא עלי כדיני
17 גוים או כשריעה אליהוד וגמיע מא אדכל לה תחתה אנא שמואל
18 בר יהודה אנא פי אנוס וקד עלמנא נחן אלשהוד צחת אלאנוסה
19 וחקקנאהא וכל אברי אכתבה לה ולא יכון פיה שהאדת אלחכם
20 אלנזה סופר בית דין כנגך מר ורבנא נתן בכנגך מר ור שמואל נע פהו
21 בטאל וכאן דאלך יום אלגמעה אלכאמס ועשרין מן סיון אלמואפק לצפר
22 שנת אלפא וארבעמאה ושתין ותרתין לשטרות שריר ובריר וקיים
23 ישועה בר שמרה נע שלה בר יכין נע נתן הכהן בר יוסף הכהן נע

---

13 זכר in these texts means simply "to say."

14 אדעא perhaps for أَدْعَى.

15 A مُقَارِض is an agent, intrusted with capital for business purposes, on the condition that the gain shall be divided between the agent and the investor, and that the loss, if any, shall fall upon the investor. See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, part 7, p. 2515.

16 He must have been a Jew, however; else why say this at all? Cf. also l. 13.

17 ثَقَّل.

18 He was confused with technicalities.

19 נבני must be أَجَابْنِي. The first *ā* is absorbed by *mā*, the second *ā* is shortened in the shut syllable of the vernacular form.

20 אברי perhaps إِبْرَاء, though we find no instance.

21 Singular, and probably impersonal, or meaning his enemy.

22 פִּי is the colloquial *fī*, from *fih*, from فِيهِ.

23 Cf. Aramaic אוּנְסָא "robbery," and אָנוֹסָא "robber."

10 the aforementioned, for the thousand dīnārs which he had. And he said[13]
that he had bought goods, and that the
11 property had been decreased by a certain amount. And he asserted[14]
that he was [merely] an agent[15], [and] not a partner. And he said:
12 "We shall not litigate except according to the laws of the Gentiles[16]."
And he urged the Ḳāḍī, al-Athīr, Ornament of the Ḳāḍīs;
13 and he forced[17] me to clear him concerning the property and the oath[18]—
according to the laws of the Gentiles and according to the Jews—
14 and about what had accrued to me through the transaction, and through
the capital which he had paid me, and about what
15 answer he had given me[19] in [the matter]. And now I have informed you
that I have been robbed in respect to all
16 I intrusted to Abū al-'Ulā for investment: whatever be the acquittal[20]
which you[21] [O Abū al-'Ulā] have written against me, according to the
laws of
17 the Gentiles or the canon law of the Jews. All that I intrusted to him
for investment I, [the son of] Samuel
18 Bar Judah, I, have been robbed of it[22]. And we, the witnesses, know that
the robbery[23] is a fact.
19 And we have verified it. And [as to] every acquittal[20] which he [Abū al-
'Ulā] had written against him [Bin Asad]: there is no unobjectionable
legal evidence in it.
20 The scribe of the [Jewish] court, our lord and master Nathan, son of our
lord and master Samuel—he is
21 a worthless[24] fellow. And this occurred[25] on Friday, the twenty-fifth of
Sivan, the equivalent to Ṣafar.
22 The year [is] one thousand four hundred and sixty-two of [the Era of]
Documents[26]. [Be it] certain, clear and abiding[27]!
23 [Signed:] Joshua Bar Shemaryah, Shēlāh Bar Yakīn, Nathan ha-Kōhēn
Bar Joseph ha-Kōhēn.

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[24] Very nearly the modern colloquial sense of the word.

[25] I.e. the memorandum was written.

[26] The Seleucid Era, beginning October 1st, 312 B.C. It is called in these fragments the Era of Documents. The Jews continued to use this manner of dating almost exclusively until well into the eleventh century A.D. Then they began to use the Jewish Era, which starts with October 7th, 3761 B.C. Wislicenus, *Der Kalendar*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 74. Our fragment is dated some time in June, A.D. 1150.

[27] This line is in Aramaic.

VIII. LETTER

Paper $12\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The five bits of writing are from the hands of three individuals. The longest, *recto* (*a*), is rather clearly written; though the language is bad and mixed with Hebrew, and the style vague and ornate. The next longest, *verso* (*a*), is crabbed and angular, as though from the hand of someone unaccustomed to the pen; but the language is good, and the style concise and to the point. *Recto* (*b*) is merely a false beginning of the same. *Verso* (*a*) dates itself and *recto* (*b*) on Monday, the eighth of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is A.D. 1231. *Verso* (*b*) and (*c*) are in a cultivated but difficult cursive hand, which becomes worse as it proceeds. The language is very much better than usual in our texts. There are even pedantic nominal case-endings and certain orthographic peculiarities of the Arabic in its own alphabet which the writer no doubt was accustomed to use. We do not know who he was. The first of the two is dated Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is three days later than *verso* (*a*). The second is not dated, but may be assumed to have been written at the expiration of the ten days from the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, or the twenty-first of that month.

Recto: (*a*)

1 ינהי אלממלוך אלי מושב הדרת יקרת צפירת
2 תפארת מרנו ורבנו אליה הדיין החכם והנבון
3 יהי שמו לעולם ואעלם אלמולא כתרת אלשיך
4 לתקביל ידי אלמולא ורגליה יעז עליה מא מניתה
5 פללה יעוצך ולא ישגל לך קלב ואעלם אלמולא
6 אן חצר אלי ענד אלממלוך אלשיך מנצור
7 מוצלהא וטלב מן אלשיך אבו תנא שהאדה
8 יערפהא לה פי חדית אלדאר אלמדכורה
9 פאעתרף אלשיך אבו תנא וקאל אלממלוך

---

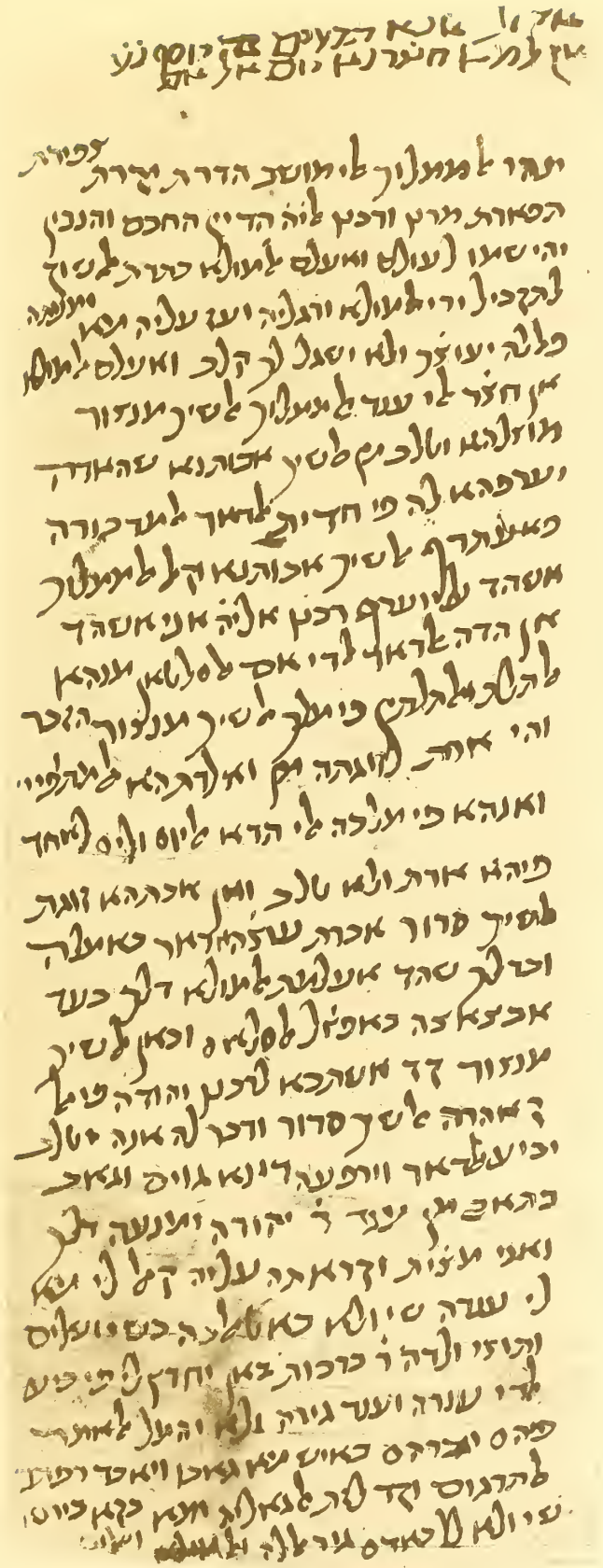
1 أُعَلِّم—كِثْرة—لتَقْبِيل. The writer uses both the 1st and the 3rd person in speaking of himself. We have translated everywhere with the 1st person.

2 A confusion of ما يَنْوِى and مُنْيَتُهُ.

3 لا يُشَغِّل قَلْبَك is quite a common idiom in our texts. قلب should have the article here.

4 The woman in question, not yet named. From lines 15, 16 we learn that she is the wife of the Sheikh Sarūr and sister of the wife of the Sheikh Manṣūr.

5 Here, as in modern colloquial, the second object of a verb is indicated by the preposition: شهادة يُعَرِّفها له فى.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 8 b

VIII. LETTER

Recto (*a*) is a letter from one Abū al-Thanā to a judge, Rabbi Elijah, probably both in Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo. He seeks with flattery to represent that his friend, Abū al-Manṣūr, of Ḳalyūb, the son of Abū al-Faraj, has been driven into exile and destitution because he was prevented from selling his house by a sister-in-law, Sutait, the daughter of Abraham, and her husband, Abū al-Sarūr, the son of Ma'ānī. The house belongs to Manṣūr, and the other family have nothing to do with it. Abū al-Thanā sold the movable property at the request of Manṣūr's son. All the harmless facts are admitted, but the others are suppressed. Evidently Manṣūr's wife, Kifā', has died, and Manṣūr has tried to defraud his children by selling their estate; and has defrauded Sutait in some manner, possibly by the sale of the movable property. Abū al-Thanā is the agent of Manṣūr and not of his son. Manṣūr is not destitute; and probably would not have been evicted if he had not attempted the sale. We learn from *verso* (*a*) the other side of the story through the witness Tamīm, son of Joseph. Sutait and Kifā' were sisters and joint heirs to two estates. After the larger of the two had been reduced by confiscation, Sutait took the smaller as her own, and Kifā' the larger, which she willed to her children. *Verso* (*a*) tells us that Manṣūr was evicted, and made to pay damages to Sutait, which he could do in part only. *Verso* (*c*) states that the two parties agreed to a payment of the balance at convenience, without court-action, but with an added 20 per cent.

Recto: (*a*)

1 [I,] the slave, approach the Presence of the Beauty of the Dignity of the Crown of
2 Splendor of our Master and Rabbi, Elijah, the wise and intelligent Judge.
3 May his name endure forever! And I assure the Master that [I,] the Sheikh, many times
4 kiss[1] the hands and feet of the Master. My desire[2] oppresses me;
5 but may God reward you, and may it not perplex you[3]. And I inform the Master
6 that the Sheikh Manṣūr, her[4] go-between, came to [me,] the slave,
7 and demanded of [me,] the Sheikh Abū Thanā, testimony
8 of which he might inform her[4], touching[5] the case[6] of the estate[7] in question[8].
9 And [I,] the Sheikh Abū Thanā, made acknowledgment and said: "[I,] the slave,

---

[6] حديث "négociation, conférence," or perhaps "autorité, juridiction," Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol. i, p. 258.

[7] Cf. the long list of *dārs* in Lower Egypt, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte* (ed. Vollers, Cairo, 1893), pp. 56 ff. Ibn Duḳmāḳ died in 1406, a hundred and seventy-five years after the date of our text.

[8] I.e. "mentioned." But the estate, like the woman in line 7, is still unmentioned. Evidently there has been discussion of the matter.

10 אשהד עלי יוערף רבנן אליה אני אשהד
11 אן הדה אלדאר אלדי אכד אלסלטאן מנהא
12 אלתלת ואלתלתין פי מלך אלשיך מנצור הזכר
13 והי ארת לזוגתה מן ואלדתהא אלמתפיה
14 ואנהא פי מלכה אלי הדא אליום ולים לאחד
15 פיהא ארת ולא טלב ואן אכתהא זוגת
16 אלשיך סרור אכדת עוצהא דאר כאמלה
17 וכדלך שהד אעלמת אלמולא דלך בעד
18 אכצאצה באפצל אלסלאם וכאן אלשיך
19 מנצור קד אשתכא לרבנן יהודה פי אל
20 קאהרה אלשיך סרור ודכר לה אנה טלב
21 יביע אלדאר וירפעה דינא גוים וגאב
22 כתאב מן ענד ר יהודה ומנעה דלך
23 ואני מצית וקראתה עליה קאל לי מא
24 לי ענדה שי ולא באטאלעה בשי ושלום
25 ותוצי ולדה ר ברכות באן יחרץ לי פי ביע
26 אלדי ענדה וענד גירה ולא יהמל אלאמר
27 פיהם ידרהם באיש מא גאבו ויאכד דפתר
28 אלתרגום וקד לזת אלגאליה ומא בקא בידנא
29 שי ולא ללכאדם גיר אללה ואלמולא ושלום.

Recto: (*b*), written after *recto* (*a*), but above it, by the same hand as *verso* (*a*):

אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
אן למא חצרנא יום אלאת[נין]

---

9 I.e. على [أَنْ] يُعْرَف.

10 Kāmil, the Ayyubid, A.D. 1218–1238, at this time. But more likely an earlier ruler is meant.

11 הזכור = הזכר.

12 מתופיה for مُتَوَفّاة.

13 I.e. the estate or the two-thirds remaining of it.

14 I.e. Manṣūr 15 I.e. Sarūr.

16 דינא גוים for דין הגוים or דין אלגוים.

17 The modern colloquial verb جاب.

18 I.e. the writ of Rabbi Judah, or the injunction of the Muslim judge, issued on the basis of the same.

10 testify—that our Rabbi Elijah may be informed[9]—I testify
11 that this [is] the estate[7] from which the Sultan[10] took away
12 a third; and [that] the two-thirds [remaining] are under the control of the Sheikh Manṣūr, mentioned[11];
13 and [that] it is an inheritance of his wife, from her deceased[12] mother;
14 and that it[13] [has remained] under his control until this day; and [that] no one [else] has
15 any inheritance in it, nor any [right to make] demand; and that her sister, the wife of
16 the Sheikh Sarūr, took in place of it a complete estate.
17 And thus I testified. [So now] I have informed the Master of this, after
18 paying compliment to him with special salutations. And the Sheikh
19 Manṣūr has already complained, to Rabbi Judah in
20 Cairo, of the Sheikh Sarūr. And he[14] told him that he had tried
21 to sell the estate; and he[15] informed the gentile judge[16] of it, and brought[17]
22 a writ from Rabbi Judah, and enjoined him[14] from [doing] this.
23 And I went and read it[18] to him[14]. He said to me [in reply]: 'He[15] owes me
24 nothing, and I have nothing to explain to him[19]. Adieu!'
25 And his son[20], Rabbi Berākhōth, was commissioned to urge[21] me to sell
26 [the movable effects] which he had in his possession and in the possession of others; and the command
27 in regard to them was not neglected; [for I, the slave,] liquidated[22] them for whatsoever[23] [price] they would bring[24]. And [I, the slave,] was given a letter[25]
28 which said in substance[26]: 'And I have fled into exile. And we have nothing left[27],
29 nor has [our] servant either, save only God and [you,] the Master. Farewell!'"

Recto: (*b*)

I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
that after we had appeared on Mon[day][28].....

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[19] أُطَالِعُهُ plus the prefix بِ of modern colloquial.

[20] ولد instead of ابن.

[21] יחרין is يُحَرِّص. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. i, p. 271: "exciter quelqu'un à s'appliquer à."

[22] The ב has been changed to ד. Although we know of no instance of the kind, we should read يُدْرِهِم, "he made them to flow, give up their juice."

[23] איש is the modern vernacular *ēsh*, for أَيُّ شَيْءٍ.

[24] We know of no other instance of this precise meaning. Cf. note 17.

[25] The Arabic word is used in the Hebrew sense.

[26] The Hebrew word is used in the Arabic sense.

[27] They had the cash proceeds of the sale of their effects.

[28] Tamīm began to write on the *recto* of the paper, and was interrupted at this point. He then wrote *verso* (*a*).

Verso: (a)

1 אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
2 אן לתאמן יום אלאתנין אל
3 תאמן מן שהר מרחשון אתקמג
4 לשטרות בעיר אלקאהרה
5 חצרת ענד סתית בנת אברהם
6 וסרור זוגהא בן מעאני
7 אשהדני עלי קולהא אנהא קד
8 כלית אלדאר לולאד אכתהא
9 כפא אלמתופיה רחמהא אללה
10 והי אלדי כוט בן סנדבסי אלדי
11 אכד אלסלטאן פיהא אלתלת
12 ותבקא מנהא אלתלתין והי
13 עון דאר אבדתהא היה
14 תמים בר יוסף נע

Verso: (b), upside down:

1 יום אלה אלחאדי עשר מן מרחשון קמג לשט
2 נפר אלקנין מן אבו אלמנצור אבן אבו אלפרג אלקליובי
3 אן עליה לסתית בנת אברהם זוגת בו אלסרור
4 אבן מעאני מאיה וסתין דרהמין קבצ מנה
5 מאיה ו' דראהם ובקי להא ענדה נ דרהם
6 ואמהלת עליה אלי ' איאם מן הדא אלתאריך
7 ואנהם אבראו בעצהם

---

[29] Beginning Oct. 1st, 312 B.C. This date does fall on a Monday, according to Schram, *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 235, col. 7D, line 25. Our document was written in A.D. 1231.

[30] I.e. diminutive of the colloquial *sitt*, "lady," but we find only ستيتة in the dictionaries.

[31] Or "vacated"? The כ has a raphe to show that it stands for خ.

[32] ولاد is the modern colloquial form of the plural.

[33] I.e. "my."

Verso: (a)

1 I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
2 that on the eighth, Monday, the
3 eighth of the month Marḥeshwān, 1543,
4 [Era of] Documents[29], in the city of Cairo,
5 I was present with Sutait[30] Bint Abraham,
6 and Sarūr Ibn Ma'ānī, her husband,
7 [who] called me to witness her statement. Behold it was:
8 "The estate was left[31] to the children[32] of her[33] sister[31]
9 Kifā'[34], deceased[13,35]—God have mercy on her!
10 And it is [the estate] which.....Ibn Sandabīsī[36], from which
11 the Sultan took a third.
12 And there remain two-thirds of it; and it is
13 the estate for which she took a substitute."
14 [Signed:] Tamīm Bar Joseph.

Verso: (b)

1 Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, 1543, [Era] of Documents[37],
2 the property[38] passed from Abū al-Manṣūr Ibn Abū al-Faraj al-Ḳalyūbī[39].
3 He owes Sutait Bint Abraham, wife of Bū[40] al-Sarūr
4 Ibn Ma'ānī, a hundred[41] and sixty dirhams[41]. She received from him
5 a hundred and ten dirhams; and there remained, of what he owed her,
fifty dirhams.
6 And she granted him a respite of ten days from this date.
7 And they declared each other free [of further obligation].

---

[31] كفاء "similar," to the parent.

[35] This tells us why there was trouble in the first place. The wife of Manṣūr had died; and the wife's sister wished to prevent Manṣūr from defrauding his children by selling the house for his own enrichment.

[36] I.e. from Sandabīs, a village in the Ḳalyūb district. Cf. Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *op. cit.*, v, 49; Ibn Ḥauḳal (de Goeje), p. 93, and the other authors cited by de Goeje, *ad loc.*

[37] The numeral אתקמג is abbreviated to קמג, and שטרות to שט. This is the same year as *verso* (*a*), and probably also as *verso* (*b*).

[38] قِنْيان is "property" or "income."

[39] I.e. from Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo.

[40] The north African form of Abū. Cf. No. XIII, note 32.

[41] The exact Arabic orthography: مائه, درهمٍ, درهمًا, يقولوا, افتكوا.

Verso: (c)

1 ולם יבק בינהם אלא צראף תלתימה ענדהם
2 מדינין עלי נ דרהמא והם יקולוא
3 מא נערף ש עליהא ואתפק אן מתי
4 אפתכוא כאן אלמבלג אלדי יפתכוא
5 בינהם נצפין באלסויה ובקי בינהם מחאכמה
6 [ע]לי סתין דרהמא

---

42 تَلْثِيمَة.

43 I.e. Sutait and Sarūr agreed to regard the remaining fifty dirhams as a debt of honor, never to be mentioned again between them; and the two parties were reconciled, and settled their case out of court. The ש is modern colloquial: *mā na'rafsh*, from ما نعرف شَيْئًا "We do not know."

Verso : (c)

1 And there remained between them nothing but to accomplish a recon-
ciliation[42] among them,
2 making a debt of [the] 50 dirhams[41], and saying
3 "We know nothing about them[43]." And he agreed that, when
4 they were paid[41], the sum which would be paid
5 [would be, by tacit agreement] between them[44], two equal parts. So there
remained, [by tacit agreement] between them, a judiciable claim[45]
6 amounting to sixty dirhams[46].

---

[44] بَيْنَهُم seems to mean idiomatically "by agreement"

[45] مُحَاكَمَة.

[46] I.e. ten dirhams extra for the privilege of private settlement by reconciliation?

IX. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, made up of two sheets pasted together.

This long strip is completely covered with writing. The top, margin and bottom, originally left for the sake of appearance, were afterwards filled with postscripts; just as the margins of Oriental printed books are filled out with other material, for good measure, "pressed down and running over." Unfortunately twenty-three lines have been mutilated by the removal of one corner.

The writing is in cursive Hebrew characters, quite legible on the whole.

The language is Arabic, without any admixture of Hebrew or Aramaic, at times elegant, but in general colloquial, with strange constructions and strange meanings of ordinary words.

Recto:

1 בּשׁרח

2 כתאבי אליך יא אכי ואלעזיז עלי וענדי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם

3 עזך ועלאך ומן חסן אלתופיק לא אכלאך גמע אללה ביננא

4 עלי אסר חאל במנה וכפי לטפה אן שא אללה : ואלדי תריד עלמה

5 מן וקת אן דכלת אלי אלהנד לם יגינא מן ענדך אחד ובקינא

6 משגולין אלקלב עליך מן בחר אלהנד אלי אן וצל אלחג עלי

7 אלדי יקאל לה אבן אלקזדירי פאשתמענא בה ואכברנא

8 בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן מות כאלך רחמה

9 אללה וכיף כאן וצולך מן אלהנד וחמדנא אללה תעאלי

10 עלי סלאמתך ועלי אגתמאעך בכאלך קבל מותה

11 ואכברנא אנך קאסית מע כאלך שדה אן עזימה

12 פי חאל מרצה ועז עלינא דאלך כתרי אלדי לם יכון אחד

---

[1] בּשׁרח, בִּשְׁמָא דְרַחְמָנָא or בִּשְׁם הָרַחֲמָן, an imitation of the Muslim بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم and close to the original from which the latter was taken.

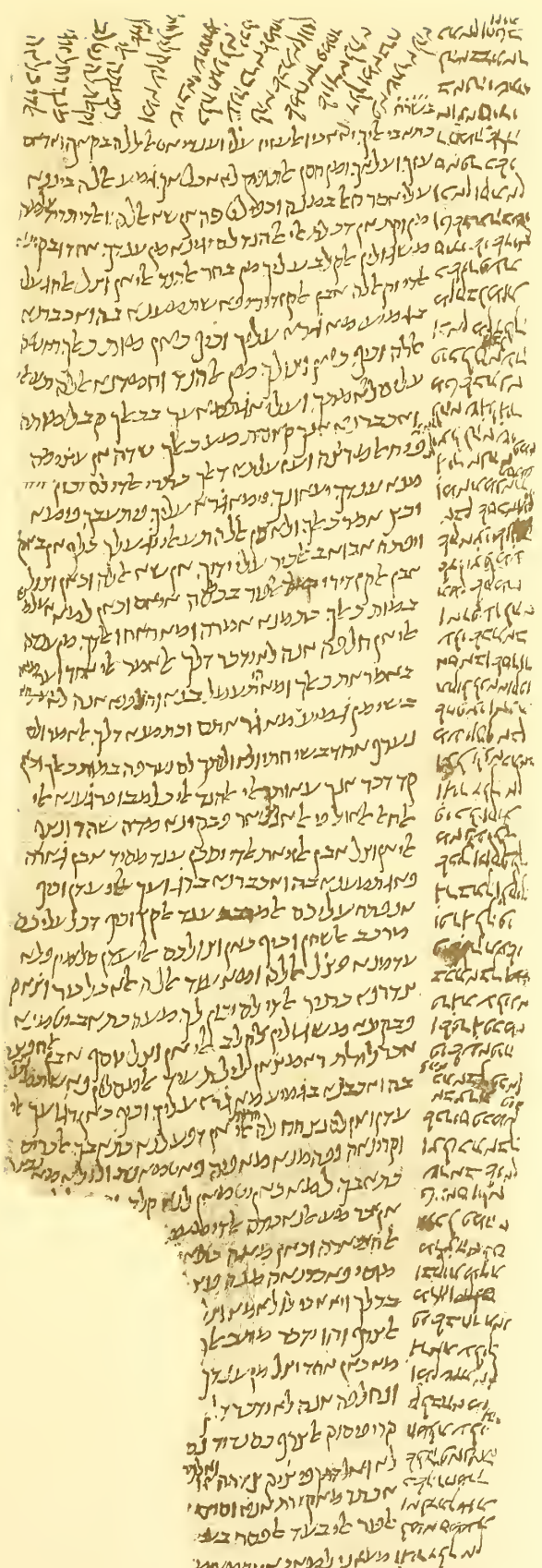
[2] عَزِيز means both "mighty" and "dear," according to the preposition used; hence this clever play upon the word.

[3] أَسَرُّ الحال, but he omits the article.

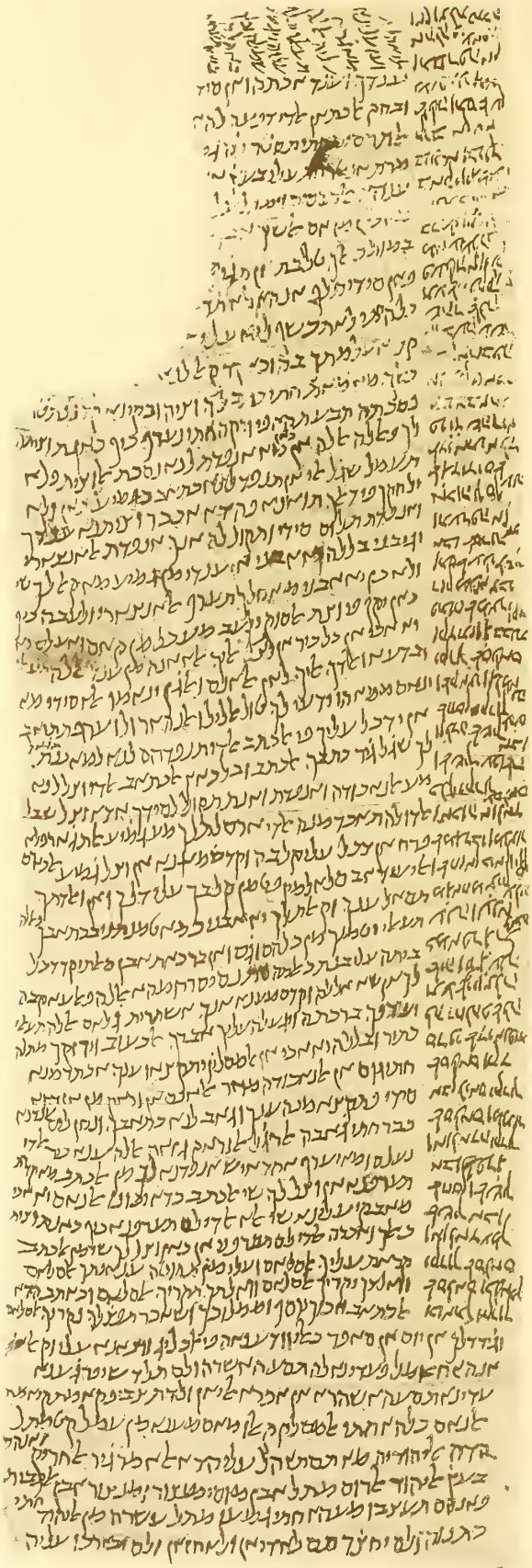
[4] بِمِنّه.

[5] The modern colloquial sense of بقى?

[6] For القُزْدارِىّ. Cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. ٢٠٧ and 185. قُزْدار is a district of India.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 9 a



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 9 b

IX. LETTER

It appears that a certain Joseph, who lives in Fusṭāṭ with many relatives, is writing to a brother(?), who lives in Aden, South Arabia, with a few other persons from the Fusṭāṭ community. The father of these two brothers is the patriarchal head of the family. The brother in Aden is a merchant, and has made two trips to India, particularly to Colombo in Ceylon, on one of which he was captured by pirates and ransomed by his relatives at home. A maternal uncle, who went from Fusṭāṭ to India on business undertaken by the father, has died there; and there is great uncertainty about his will, especially because the wife of this uncle is a grasping creature and has also had an illegitimate child in his absence. A similar case is mentioned in the letter.

There is no address. The letter was to be intrusted to a friend for discreet delivery.

There is no date. But a certain ḥazzān Abū 'l-Bayyān, is mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 242, vol. ii, p. 308, which is a letter considered by Mann to belong to about 1150.

Recto:

1 In the name of the Compassionate[1]!
2 My letter to you, O my Brother, mightier[2] than I and dear[2] to me. May God lengthen your life and prolong
3 your strength and your dignity, and not deprive you of the beauty of success! May God reunite us
4 under the most happy[3] circumstances, in His grace[4] and the abundance of His kindness: if it please God! And what you would like to know [is that]
5 from the time when you entered India no one came to us from you, and we became[5]
6 troubled in regard to you on account of the Indian Ocean until the Hājj 'Alī arrived,
7 who is called Ibn al-Ḳuzdīrī[6]. And we enquired[7] of him; and he informed us
8 of all that had befallen you, and the manner of your [maternal] uncle's death—God have mercy on him!—
9 and how you arrived [back] from India. And we praised God the Exalted
10 for your safety, and your being able to reach your uncle before his death.
11 And he told us that you had endured great hardships[8] with your uncle
12 while he was sick; and that was very[9] difficult for us [to bear,] namely[10]: [that] no one of us

---

[7] The VIII form of سمع usually means "listened to."

[8] أَنْ used as a relative with indefinite antecedent.

[9] כתרי for כתיר.

[10] The vernacular use of الذى as a conjunction. Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, Cairo, 1895, p. 17 *sub voce* اللى.

13 מנא ענדך יעאונך פימא גרא עליך פי תעבך פימא
14 יכ׳ן אמר כאלך ולאכן אללה תעאלי יגעלך כלף אן באקי
15 ויפתח אבואב אלכיר עלי ידיך אן שא אללה וכאן וצול
16 אבן אלקזדירי בעד אלפור בכּסה איאם וכאן למא אעלמנא
17 במות כאלך כתמנא אמרה ומא ראח ואלדך מן ענדה
18 אלי אן חלפה אנה לא ידכר דלך אלאמר אלי אחד וערפנאה
19 באמראת כאלך ומא הי תעמל בנא וחלפנא אנה לא יערפהא
20 בשי מן גמיע מא גרא תם וכתמנא דלך אלאמר ולם
21 נערף אחד בשי חתי ולא ולדתך לם נערפה במות כאלך וכאן
22 קד דכר אנך עאזת אלי אלהנד אלי כלמבו פרגענא אלי
23 אלחאל אלאול פי אלאנתטאר פבקינא מדת שהר ונצף
24 אלי אן וצל אבן אלזיאת אלדי יסכן ענד מסיר אבן גארה
25 פאגמענא בה ואכברנא ברגועך אלי עדן וכיף
26 אנפתח עליכם אלמרכב ענד אלקין וכיף דכל עליכם
27 מרכב אלשחן וכיף כאן וצולכם אלי עדן סלאמין פלא
28 עדמנא פצל אללה ומא ענד אללה אלא בלכיר וצאק
29 צדרנא כתיר אלדי לם יכון לך מעה כתאב יטמנא
30 פבקינא משגולין אלקלב אלי אן וצל יוסף אבן אלחפצי
31 אכר לילת ראמצאן לילת עיד אלמסלין פאשתמענא
32 בה ואכברנא בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן רגועך אלי
33 עדן ואן לם נצחח לה אלי אן דפע לנא כתאבך אלכרים חדות
34 וקרינאה פפהמנא מא פיה פאטמאנת ולולא מא נבצר

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11 יגעלך is the colloquial *yij'állak* for يَجْعَلُ لَكَ.

12 פור is the Arabic form of the Hebrew word. Cf. line 46 and al-Ḳalḳāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, II, 427, where the printed edition has فوز however.

13 راح in the colloquial sense.

14 Cf. the bottom of *verso*.

15 The writer intended וחלפנאה.

16 Read ואלדתך and נערפהא.

17 עאזת is a confusion between عُزْتُ and عائزْ of the colloquial.

18 Perhaps for إِجَارَة, "protection."

was at your side to help you in what befell you when you were worn out with
the concerns of your uncle's case. But God the Exalted will make for you[11] a lasting change[8]
and open the gates of fortune to your hands: if it please God!
Now Ibn al-Ḳuzdīrī arrived five days after Pūrīm[12]. And, after he had told us
of the death of your uncle, we made a secret of his case. And your father did not leave[13] his presence
until he had made him swear that he would not mention this matter to anyone; and we informed him
about the wife[14] of your uncle, and what she was doing to us. And we made him swear[15] that he would not tell her
anything of all that had happened. Then we made a secret of that matter. And
we shall not tell anyone about anything: indeed not even your wife[16] shall we inform of the death of your uncle.
And [al-Ḳuzdīrī] had said that you wanted[17] [to go] to India, to Colombo; so, we returned to
[our] former state of suspense; and remained [so] for the space of a month and a half:
until Ibn al-Zaiyāt arrived, who lives at the house of Musayyar Ibn Jārah[18].
Then we met together with him, and he told us of your return to Aden, and how
the ship was captured when [you were] attacked, and how there came to you
a cargo ship, and how you arrived at Aden, safe and sound. So we did not
lack the grace of God: and with God there is no [possibility of anything] but [affairs going] well. But we
were much distressed because[10] there was no letter of yours with him, reassuring us[19].
So, we remained anxious until Joseph Ibn al-Ḥafṣī arrived
late on the night of Ramaḍān, the night of the festival of the Muslims[20]. And we met together with
him. And he told us of all that had befallen you, and how you returned to
Aden. But we did not believe [his] story[21] until he had handed us your good letter.
And we read[22] it, and understood what was in it. So, I was at peace. But if we had not seen

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[19] יטמנא is colloquial يُطَمِّنَا for classical يُطْمَئِنُّنَا, which, however, does not exist, as the classical verb is always intransitive and cannot take an object. Cf. the classical form and sense in lines 34, 35

[20] Read מסלמין.

[21] חדות (which needs the article) is not classical, but probably equivalent to the modern colloquial *ḥaddūta*, plural *ḥawādīt*, "fairy story."

[22] קרינא is the colloquial form of قَرَأْنَا.

35 כתאבך למא כאן יטמאן לנא קלב . . . . . .
36 אן אכר מע אלנאכודה אלדי מעה . . . . . .
37 אלחפאדה וכאן מעה כתא[ב] . . . . . .
38 מוסי פאכדנאה מנה פוצ[ל] . . . . . .
39 בדלך ויא אכי לולא מא וצל . . . . . .
40 אלצרף והו ידכר מות כאלך . . . . . .
41 מא כאן אחד יצל מן ענדך . . . . . .
42 ונחלפה אנה לא ידכר דלך . . . . . .
43 קרי פי סוק אלצרף כסנדיר נס . . . . . .
44 לא ואלדתך פי ציק צדרה אן ואלד.. . . . . .
45 אכתר מא קדרת אנא וסידי . . . . . .
46 אלפור אלי בעד אלפסח בע . . . . . .
47 מעאני למא כאן יסמעו מ . . . . . .

Verso :

1 ענדך וענד אכתה ואן סידי . . . . . .
2 ובחק אלכתאן אלדי דפעה להא . . . . . .
3 אלתרסים חתי תחטר לה גי . . . . . .
4 מדת אנטרחת עלי בעין א . . . . . .
5 ענדהא אלתרסים וימתל על . . . . . .
6 מא כ[א]ן מן אם אלשיך אבן . . . . . .
7 במות כאלך טלבת אן תגי . . . . . .
8 פאן סידי חלף אנהא לא תד[כר] . . . . . .
9 כלה חתי לא תכשף לנא עליה . . . . . .
10 קד אעלמתך בהוכא קד קאל לנא . . . . . .
11 כאלך מא מאת חתי כתב לך וציה ובקינא קד ננתטר
12 כסבתה תבעתהא פי ורקה חתי נערף כיף כאנת וציתה
13 לך פאללה אללה אן כאן מא אנפדת לנא נסכת אלוציית פלא
14 תעמל שגל אלי אן תנפד לנא כתאב בגמיע כאן ולא

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23 מע perhaps for مَعًا.
21 Persian ناخوذة. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 648.
25 א erased and ם written.

35 your letter, why should [our] heart have been tranquil?.....
36 that he took along[23] the ship's captain[24] who [had been] with him.....
37 envy[25]. And he had the letter.....
38 Moses. So we received it from him, and there arrived.....
39 about that. And, O my brother, if he had not arrived.....[Market of]
40 Exchange[26]. And it mentions the death of your uncle.....
41 no one arrived from [the place] where you [were]
42 and we made him swear not to mention that [matter].....
43 was read[27] in the Market of Exchange[28].....
44 not [your mother][29] in his anxiety, that your mother.....
45 as much as I was able and my master[30].....
46 Pūrīm[12] until after the Passover.....
47 affairs[31] after they had heard.....

Verso:

1 with you and his sister; and that my Master.....
2 and about the linen which he delivered to her.....
3 the specification?[32] until.....she forbade him.....
4 while it was being relegated to some one of.....
5 with her the specification?[32]; and he described.....
6 what was the matter with the mother of the Sheikh Ibn.....
7 about the death of your uncle, she tried to come.....
8 And the Master[30] swore that she would not mention.....
9 all of it, so that she should not enlighten us about it.....
10 she had informed you of.....(?) He said to us.....
11 your uncle did not die until he had written for you a testament. And we continued to await [a statement of]
12 his estate[33], sent by you, on paper, so that we might know how the will stood in relation
13 to you. But Allah! Allah! If you do not have executed for us a copy of the will, then do not
14 do any business until you have executed for us a document with everything there is[34]. And do not

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[26] Supplied from line 43. [27] قُرِئَ.

[28] For this *Sūḳ al-Ṣarf* see Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *op. cit.*, v, p. 38 *et alibi*; and Casanova, *Essai de Reconstruction Topographique de la Ville d'al-Fousṭâṭ ou Misr*, tome I, in *Mémoirs par les membres de l'Institut Français du Caire*, vol. xxxv, Index.

[29] ואלדתך has been deleted.

[30] He is the one referred to as סידי "the master" in lines 8, 16, and elsewhere.

[31] Cf. No. IV, line 4.

[32] "description"? "placing under guard"? "stamping"?

[33] This is a strange meaning for كِسْبَة. [34] I.e. جميع ما كان.

15 ילחקך פי דאלך תואניא פהדא אכבר וציתנא ענדך
16 ואנפדת תלום סידי ותקול לה אנך אנפדת אלאנצארי
17 וגיבני בללה יא אבני אן ענדי מן גמיע מא קאל לך שי
18 ולאכן יא אבני מא חלך תערף אלאנצארי ולעבה כיף
19 כאן וקף פי וצת אלסוק ולעב מע כל מן קאם ואעלם יא
20 יא אבי אן כל כיר אן יצל אליך אלא אנה מן ענד אללה תעלי
21 ובדעא ואלדך אליך לאן אלאנס ואלגן ינאמו אלא סידי מא
22 ינאם ממא הו ידעו לך טול אלליל ואלנהאר ולו ערפת תואב
23 אן ידכל עליך פי אלכתב אליך ותנפדהם לנא למא כנת תגעל
24 לך שגל גיר כתבך אלכתב ובלכאין אלכתאב אלדי וצל לנא
25 מע אלנאכודה ואנפדת ואנת תקול לסידך אדא וצל שבל
26 אלדולה תאבד מנה אלדי ארסלת לך מע גמיע אלתגאר פלא
27 פרח אן דכל עלי קלבה וקד סמענא אן וצל גמיע אלריום
28 אלי עדאבסלאלמין פטמן קלבך עלי דלך ואן ואלדתך
29 תסאל ענך וקאלת לך יא אבני כמא טמנתני בכתאבך פאללה
30 תעאלי יטמנך מן כל הם וגם ואן ברכאת אבן כאלתי קד דכל
31 ביתה עלי בנת כאלתה סת נסים רחמהא אללה פאלעאקבה
32 לך אן שא אללה וקד סמענא אנך אשתרית גלאם אללה תעלי
33 יעדפך ברכתה ויגעלה עליך אברך אלכעוב וירזקך מתלה
34 כתיר ובללה יא אבי אן אלמסלין יתקצאו ענך אכתר מנא
35 חתי יום אן אלנאכודה מחר אלאנסאן וראק מן אזדקא

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35 תואניא is certainly [ال]ثَّوانِيَ; accusative for nominative.

36 وَصيّة is both "testament" and "command"; hence the play upon the word.

37 וגיבני for وَأَجِبْنِي.

38 I.e. either he "made fools of," or "trifled with," or "gambled with."

39 He intended to write إِلَّا.....لَا.....إِنَّ.

40 תואב is apparently تُؤَابَة, but without the feminine ending.

41 Cf. al-Dhāhabī, *Mīzān al-I'tidāl* (Cairo, 1325), i, 440.

42 This jumble contains perhaps : ענד, בסלאם, and סאלמין.

43 Humorous? Although the text says "bought a slave," the context refers to a son.

44 The same correction of the text as in *recto*, l. 31. But here we have a reference to pirates, and the ransoming of captive Jews. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 87 ff. Muslims captured Christians and Jews, and Christians captured Muslims (and Jews?). The price of ransom was 33⅓ dīnārs, the dīnār being worth about $2.50 in gold, with a purchasing power of about $7.50 at that time.

15 let carelessness[35] overtake you in that [matter]; for this is our supreme
"will"[36] in regard to you.
16 And you sent [a letter] complaining [to] the Master[30] and saying to him
that you had sent to al-Anṣārī.
17 But answer me[37], by Allah, my Son: Have I anything of all [the property]
he told you of?
18 But, my Son, aren't you free to recognize al-Anṣārī and his little game:
how
19 he stood in the market-place and played[38] with anyone who happened to
be standing there? And know,
20 O my Brother, no good-fortune is sent[39] to you except that it comes from
God the Exalted.
21 And about your father's[30] calling out to you—for men and demons may
sleep, but the Master[30] does not
22 sleep, because he keeps calling to you, all night and all day long. And
if you only knew shame[40]:
23 that it might enter into you through the letters to you! And you send
[letters] to us about having
24 other business to do than writing letters: and especially the letter which
reached us
25 with the ship's captain. And you sent word, and you said to your
Master[30]: "When Shbl al-Daulah[41]
26 arrives get from him what I have sent to you as well as to the other
merchants." And he did not
27 rejoice. It made a deep impression on him. And we heard that all the
dignitaries arrived
28 at.....[42] But calm yourself[19]. Your mother
29 asked after you and said to you: "O my Son, just as you have relieved[19]
me with your letter, so may God
30 the Exalted relieve[19] you from every care." And also Barakāt the son
of my [maternal] aunt, has taken possession of
31 his house with the daughter of his [maternal] aunt, Sitt Nissīm—God
have mercy upon her!—[as bride]. But you have
32 offspring—if it please God. We have heard that you have bought[43] a
boy. May God the Exalted
33 teach you what a blessing he is, and make him the most blessed of
honors, and grant you many more
34 like him! And, by Allah, my Brother, the Muslims[44] exacted[45] for you[r
ransom still] more from us;
35 until one day[46] the ship's captain set free[47] a rich man, [one] of the friends[48]

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[45] יתקצאו is vernacular *yitḳaḍu* for classical يَقْتَضُوا. For the sense see Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 362. With this verb مِنْ denotes the payer of the ransom, and عَنْ the ransomed person. [46] יום אן. Cf. note 8.

[47] מחר is مُحِرّ, the participle for the imperfect.

[48] אזדקא is أَصْدِقَاء, with ز for ص.

36 סידי פתקצא מנה ענך וגאב לנא כתאבך ונחן ליס ענדנא
37 כבר חתי גאבה אלרגל אלוראק גזאה אללה ענא כיר אלדי
38 נעלם ומא יערף אחד איש אנפדנא לך מן אלכתב מא קדרת
39 תערפנא אן וצל לך שי אלכתב כדא יכונו אלנאם יא אכי
40 מא בקי עלינא שי אלא אלדי לם תערפנא כיף כאנת וצית
41 כאלך נאכדה אלדי לם תערפני אן כאן וצל לך שי מן אלכתב
42 קראת עליך אלסלאם ועלי מן תחוטה ענאיתך אלסלאם
43 וואלדך יקריך אלסלאם וואלתך תקריך אלסלאם וכאתב הדא
44 אלכתאב אכוך יוסף וממלוכך ושאכר תפצלך נקריך אלסלאם

Margin of verso:

וכואתך יקרוך | אלסלאם וכלאתך | יקרוך אלסלאם | ואולאד עמך | אלשיך
אבו | אלחסן ואלשיך | אבו אלפרג | ואולאדה יקרוך | אלסלאם וממוך | אבן
אליאם יקרוך | אלסלאם וקד | סרני אלדי אנפדת | לה רחלה פאללה | תעאלי
יוצלה | אליה וירג ענך | כמא פרגת | ענה וענא לאנה | מגאח מציק עליה |
ואלחזאן | ביאן ויוסף | אלמגרבי ומנצור | ואכוה אולאד כלף יקרוך אלסלאם |
ואלשיך עטאלה | וולדה אלשיך אבו | אלחסן יקרוך אלסלאם | ואלקאצי
וגלמאנה | יקרוך אלסלאם | וקד תזוג בבנת | פתום אלמצרי וקד | רזק מנהא
צבי | ותסאל עלי אלשיך | אבו אלסרור | ותערפה אן | אכוה יוסף | אלגדיד
יסאל ענה | אלדי אתואלד | פי יד שהר וא | ..בבצרה | אנ...טאי. |
..ן אחבעה | ארבעת עשר | שהר אללה | תעאלי ילקיהא | פעלהא וילקי[הא] |
מא עמלת | בכאל ..... | ..יכתב ..... | באקי ויגמע. | ביננא ובינך |
קרב אן שא | אללה ותסאל ען | מעאני ... | ותערפה אן | אהלה פי עאפיה |
ואן וצלת כתבה || אלי אהלה | ועז עלינא | מא גרא | עליה אללה | תעאלי
כלף | עליה ויגמע | שמלה וכלף | באהלה | ביאן מע .....

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49 I.e. the ship's captain.

50 פתקצא a half vernacular form. Cf. فَاقْتَضَى and *fa itḳaḍa*, and note 45.

51 I.e. the rich man.

52 The recipient of the letter is actually or supposedly in captivity somewhere. Cf. lines 24–36.

53 The forms *ēsh* and *waṣallāksh* are vernacular.

of the Master[30], and he[49] demanded[50] from him[51] [an additional ransom] for you[52]. And he[51] brought your letter to us. And we did not have any
news until the rich man brought it—May God requite him with good from us, [now] that[10] we
know. And no one knows what[53] we sent you in [the way of] letters. As far as you are able,
inform us whether the letters reached you[53]. [Well!] That is how people are, my Brother[54]!
Nothing remains for us [to say] except that[10] you did not inform us how it was [with] the testament
of your uncle. We object to your[10] not informing me as to whether any of the letters reached you.
I send you greeting, and to [all] whom your grace and favor protect, [I send] greeting.
And your father sends you greeting; and your mother sends you greeting; and the writer of this
letter, your brother and slave, Joseph, who is grateful for your favor: we send you greeting!

Margin of verso:

And your sisters send you greeting; and your [maternal] aunts send you greeting; and the sons of your [paternal] uncle, the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan and the Sheikh Abū al-Faraj, and his children, send you greeting; and your father-in-law[55] Ibn Elias, sends you greeting. I am glad that you wrote to him [while on his] journey. And God the Exalted will cause [your letter] to reach him; and it will comfort you just as you comforted him and us. For he is ruined, he is in straits[56]. And the Ḥazzān Bayyān, and Joseph al-Maghribī, and Manṣūr, and his brother, the children of Khalaf, send you greeting. And the Sheikh ʿAṭāllāh[57] and his son[16], the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan, send you greeting. And the Kadi and his [male] slaves send you greeting. He has married the daughter of Futūḥ the Egyptian; and has been blessed [with] a boy from her. And you make inquiry in behalf of the Sheikh Abū al-Sarūr: [Please] inform him that his brother, Joseph al-Jadīd, asks after [the child] which was born[58] on the 14th of the month... .....fourteenth of the month. May God the Exalted requite her [with] her deed, and requite her [with] what she wrought!.....write.....remainder... ...and bring us together soon, if it please God. And you ask after the affairs of.....: [Please] inform him that his family are in health, and that his letters have reached his family. But we were grieved by what happened to him. May God the Exalted make up to him [what he lost], and set his affairs in order, and make up to him by his family [what he lost].....

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[54] Exactly the German expression of resignation: "So sind die Menschen!"

[55] Read חמוך. [56] مُجَاح مُضَيَّق. [57] I.e. عَطَاءُ الله.

[58] אתוואלד is the colloquial form *itwalad*, of the VIII stem. Cf. note 50.

Bottom of verso:

1 וגיר דלך אן יום אן סאפר כאלי וודענאה פי אלכליג ותאנא עלי וקאל...
2 אנהא חאמל פעדינא לה תסעה אשרה ולם תלד שי פרגענא
3 עדינא תסעה אשהרא אן אברא אלי אן ולדת צבי פקאמת קיאמת
4 אלנאס כלהא חתי אלמסלין קאלו מא סמענא מן עמל קט מתל
5 הדה אליהודיה מא תסתאהל עלי הדא אלאמר גיר אלחריק ואנהם
6 בעין אליהוד אלרום מתל אבן מוסי מנצור ומנצור אבן אלכבית
7 פאנהם תעצבו מעהא חתי גמעו מתל עשרה מן אליהוד חתי
8 כתנוה ולם יחצר תם לא דיאן ולא חזאן ולם יבארכו עליה

Margin of recto:

וגיר דלך אן | למא סמעת | ואלדתך מות | כאלך רחמה | אללה
פאנאה | חמלת עלי | קלבהא מן גהת | ומן שדת אן | גראת עליך | פי
אלבחר תאני | מרה | ובקית מדת | מרצהא לם | ידכל פמהא | טעאם ולא |
שראב אלי אן | וצל כתאבך | אלכרים פכמא | אבצרת פי | כתאבך פכאן |
פי להא אלעאפיה | ואלפרג פכמא | פרגת עלינא | בכתאבך | פאללה תעאלי |
יפרג לך פי | גרבתך וילקיך | אלכיר ויוקף לך | מא נדעילך | פי כל וקת |
וגיר דלך אן | וצל לנא כתאב | מע יוסף אבן | אלחפצי ואנת | תקול לנא
אוקפו | אם אבו אלסרור | עלי אלכתאב | ואדפעו להא | תמן אלקמח | אלדי
וצל מע | אלקאצי אלוג.. | אבן אלסכאוין | ומא תמנאת | גיר אנהא | יצל תסמעאן
להא שי פמא | להא צאר שגל גיר | מטאלבתנא | פי כל סאעה | וכאן מן קבל
דלך | מן קבל מות | כאלי דפעת | סידי אלי אלדיאן | וטאלבתה בשי | וכאן

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[59] Read אישהר.

[60] לם תלדשי, *lam tulídshe*, with the negative *-she* of modern vernacular.

[61] אשהרא is for أَشْهُرًا though we should have the genitive, not the accusative. Cf. note 8.

[62] Read מסלמין.

[63] I.e. "corrupt." This must be an epithet, not an acceptable name.

[64] In order to constitute a מִנְיָן or quorum.

[65] Is this the child referred to above as born "on the 14th of the month"?

[66] Read פאנהא. [67] Read גהתך.

[68] שדת אן. Cf. note 8.

[69] The words ואן לם have been written and deleted.

Bottom of verso:

And another matter: On the day[46] when my [maternal] uncle went on a journey and we took leave of him at the canal, he took me aside and said:

"She is with child." And we let nine months[59] go by for it [to happen]; but she did not bear[60]. And again

we let another nine months[61] go by, until she bore a boy. And there was an uprising of

all the people, until [even] the Muslims[62] said: "We never in our lives heard of a deed like [the deed of]

this Jewess! She deserves for this thing nothing less than burning!" And

some of the Jews—Byzantine Jews, such as Manṣūr Ibn Moses, and Manṣūr Ibn al-Khabīth[63]—

defended her cause, until they had collected something like ten of the Jews[64], in order to

circumcise [the child]. But neither dayyān nor ḥazzān was present. And they did not [therefore] say the [necessary] blessings over him[65].

Margin of recto:

And another matter: After your mother had heard [of] the death of your [maternal] uncle—God have mercy on him!—she[66] was heavy-hearted because of you[67] and some hardship[68] which you might have encountered at sea the second time[69]. And while she was sick [from this worry] neither food nor drink entered her mouth, until your good letter reached her. And just as she looked at it—your letter—and felt well and happy [again], and just as you relieved us by your letter[70]: so may God the Exalted relieve you in your trial[71], and make good-fortune meet you and stay with you. [That is] what we pray for you always.

And another matter: Joseph Ibn al-Hafṣi brought us a letter [from you[72];] "Keep the mother of Abū al-Sarūr from writing; and pay her the price of the grain which arrived with the Kadi.....Ibn al-S...., and what she expects, without her hearing that anything has come to her." She has come to have no other occupation than begging of us continually. And before that—before the death of my [maternal] uncle—she brought the Master[30] before the dayyān[73] and made a demand upon him. And at the time my [maternal] uncle went on the journey[74]—God have mercy on him[75]—he recommended to the Master[30] that he buy for her a dīnār's

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[70] The word ועלי has been written and deleted.

[71] תנרבתך.

[72] This person's letter and visit are spoken of in lines 30–35. A Joseph Ibn Ṣadōḳ, grandson of Ibn Ḥafṣ, of the house of Ḥafṣ, is mentioned in a genealogy in Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 318, l. 15.

[73] Apparently דפע means "to summon to court."

[74] Mentioned at the bottom of the *verso*.

[75] He did not return from this journey, but died.

וקת אן | סאפר כאלי רחמה אללה | אוצא סידי | באנה ישתרי | להא
בדינאר | כתאן וחטב וזית || פאשתרא להא | דלך ומא ברח | אלי ודא להא |
אלמחאר פמחר | להא אלכתאן ווזן | ענה כרא אלמחר | כלה חתי לא יכלי |
שי באיש תחתנ | עז קליל חתי | דפעתה אלי אלדיאן | וקאלת לה נטלב |
מנך רחל זוגי | אלדי כלצה |

---

[76] Cf. note 44.

[77] Colloquial *îla wa-*. [78] Colloquial *da*.

[79] This root occurs three times here (and perhaps in *verso*, l. 35), and is plainly written מחד ; but there is no root محد nor محذ nor محر in Arabic. The root مهر is the only one that will give sense. The ר presents no difficulty ; but the ח can be accounted for only by the assumption of an actual dialectical difference.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters, partly vocalized, and not always correctly so.

The many abbreviations and omissions, in the manner of No. XLII, suggest that this may be merely a memorandum of prayers.

worth[76] of linen, and fuel-wood and olive oil. And he bought her that. And he continued [to give her things] until[77] he gave[78] her the dowry[79]. And he gave her the linen for a dowry; and he paid[80] from [the sale of] it the cost[81] of the dowry[82], all of it; so that nothing remained that she could have [even] the slightest need of. And then she brought him before the dayyān; and she said to him: "We want from him [the profits of] my husband's journey, which he completed."

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[80] Dozy, *Supplément.*

[81] كِرَاء is usually "rent." [82] She married again.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Like No. XLVI, this fragment has to do with the prayers for the Day of Atonement.

Recto begins with the words:

כִּי הכל הֶבֶל אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו הֲלֹא כָל הַנִּסְתָּרוֹת etc.

Verso begins with the words:

אַרְבַּע מִיתוֹת בְּבֵית דִּין חֶנֶק etc.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE

Paper $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

In half-square Hebrew characters, but in the Aramaic language, so often used in Jewish documents.

There are some places where the writing has been effaced or the paper destroyed ; but the complete text can be recovered from the context.

Recto :

1 בתלתא בשבא דהוא עשרין ותשע [יו]מין ליר[ח]
2 תמוז דשנת אלפא וחמש מאה ותשעין שנין לשט[רות]
3 למניינא דרגילנא לממני ביה הכא בפסטאט מצרים
4 דעל נהר נילום מותבה איך אנא .... ל.... דיבה
5 דממדינת מצרים וכל שום אחרן וחניכא דאית לי
6 ולאבהתי ולאתרי ולאתריהון די אבהתי צבית בר[עות]
7 נפשי כד לא אניסנא ופטרית ושבקית ו[תר]וכי[ת]
8 יתיכי ליכי אנתי סת אלדאר בת יצחק דמעיר בנהא
9 אלעסל וכל שום אחרן וחניכה דאית ליכי ולאבהתיכי
10 ולאתריכי ולאתריהון דאבהתיכי די הוית אנתתי
11 מקדמת דנא וכדן פטרית ושבקית ותרוכית
12 יתיכי ליכי די תהויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי
13 למהך להתנסבא לכל גבר די תצבייין ואינש
14 לא ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי

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[1] Such bills of divorce could be drawn up in other languages than Aramaic, though this seems to have been the prevailing language since 500 B.C. A number of such bills have been found in the Genizah. See e.g. Moïse Schwab in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lvi, p. 128; and especially the excellent treatise of Ludwig Blau, *Die Jüdische Ehescheidung und der Jüdische Scheiderbrief*, Budapest, 1911 (two facsimiles are given there from the Elkan Adler collection). See another facsimile in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. iv, p. 624. Though the general expressions were fixed from of old, extra words could be added in order to give greater importance to that which was being said. The present bill is as long as any that we have seen of this early period.

[2] A.D. 1278. [3] We take מצרים = مصر = Fusṭāṭ.

[4] In none of the bills of divorce that we have seen is the precaution in regard to the name taken to this length. The usual expression is simply : וכל שום דאית לי.

[5] Notice the redundancy of the expression יתיכי ליכי which, however, is found elsewhere. Cf. Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 99.

[6] סת אלדאר would mean "lady of the house." See Steinschneider, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xi, p. 330.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE[1]

A bill of divorce given to Sitt al-Dār, daughter of Isaac, of the village of Benha al-'Asal, by her husband—whose name may have been Shilyā—in the city of Fusṭāṭ.

It is dated 1590 of the Era of Documents, i.e. A.D. 1278.

On the *verso* the witnesses have testified to having handed the bill of divorce to the woman in question.

Recto:

1 On the third day of the week, [Tuesday], which is the twenty-ninth day of the month

2 Tammūz, of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety of [the Era of] Documents[2],

3 according to the method of dating by which we are accustomed to count here in Fusṭāṭ of Egypt,

4 which is situate upon the river Nile, I .....[11]

5 of the city of Fusṭāṭ[3]—and any other name or surname that I may possess,

6 my father may possess, my place of dwelling or the places of dwelling of my fathers may possess[4]—I desire,

7 in perfect free-will, and without being compelled: to free thee, to let thee go, and to cause thee[5] to depart—

8 thee my wife, Sitt al-Dār[6], daughter of Isaac, of the city of Benha[7]

9 al-'Asal—or any other name or surname that thou mayest possess, that thy fathers may possess,

10 or thy place of dwelling, or the places of dwelling of thy fathers[8] [may give thee], thou who wert my wife

11 prior to this. In such manner I release thee, I send thee forth, and I let

12 thee depart, that thou mayest be free and have the right, of thine own will,

13 to go and marry any man thou wilt.

14 No one can oppose thee in my name[9], from this day onward and forever. Behold!

---

[7] Yāḳūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 748, gives both pronunciations, Binha and Banha. The word אלעסל was added to it, because the best honey in Egypt came from the place. See, also, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v, p. 59. It occurs in other Genizah documents; see Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, general index, *s.v.*

[8] See above, line 6. The meaning seems to be that he wishes to cover any name that she or he may have coming from family possessions in other places.

[9] I.e. "saying that thou bearest my name." The addition of מן שמי is not normal; but see Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 100.

15 את מותרת לכל אדם ודן דיהוי ליכי מני ספר
16 תרוכין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין כדת משה וישראל
17 עמנואל בי׳ וחיאל נבתויא ש[ל]ה בר עמרם נע׳

Verso:

1 מטא גיטא הדין ליד המתגרשת די בגויה מיד שליא
2 המגרש בתורת גירושין גמורין לקמן אנן עידי מסירה
3 עמנואל בי׳ יחיאל נבתויא שלה בר עמרם נע׳

---

[10] Here, and on *verso*, the letters נבתויא follow this name. In one document (Taylor-Schechter, 13. J6, No. 11) we find them after the very name which has been signed to our own: עימנואל בי׳ יחיאל נבתויא. See other examples of this combination of letters in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 236. It is not uncommon. Evidently it contains the first letters of some pious wish.

15 Thou art free to every man. It is proper that thou shouldst receive from
me a document
16 of freedom, a bill of divorce, and a letter of dismissal, according to the
law of Moses and of Israel.
17 [Witnesses] Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yeḥīēl[10].
Shēlāh Bar ʿAmram.

Verso:

1 This bill of divorce has reached the divorcee, who is among her people,
from the hand of Shilyā[11],
2 the divorcer, according to the law of complete divorce. Below we the
witnesses of the delivery [sign our names]:
3 Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yeḥīēl Shēlāh Bar ʿAmram.

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[11] If this reading is correct, one may restore *recto*, line 4 thus:

אנא ..ן שליא .. רי בה

and translate: "I,.....Shilyā..., who [live] in the city of Cairo," etc.

XII. LETTER

Paper 8 × 6⅝ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters. Cf. III, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV.

Written with a scratchy pen and gummy ink in a degenerate cursive Hebrew hand of which the similar letters are usually entirely undifferentiated.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יא סידי ומולאי אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם סלאמתה וסעאדתה
אן אלמסתקר

2 עז חאל סלאמה ועאפיה אלאמר ללה רב אלעלמין לז כלון מן שבט כתמה
ללה

3 עלינא ועליך בכיר אעלמך יא מולאי אן תקדמת מני אליך עדה כתב ארגו

4 אגאבך עליהא וקד וצל כתאבך עלי יד סידי אבי אברה[י]ם אסמאעיל קפוה

5 ותם וצל איצא מן בעדה גואב אכר עלי יד לפיג ואנת תדכר פיה ביע

6 דהב לאעדמה ת[ו]צלה אלדנאניר שאכריה תסוא מן יז לי יח נוין ובקית

7 יא מולאי נעתגג לדאלך נחב מן מולאי אן יגתהד ויביע וישתרי מא

8 דכרת לה פי אלכתאב לא יוכד מנהא חאגה וישד לכל מא יבק לו ומא

9 נוציה פי חדית אלודע ויכון לרלחיניצי ומא דכרתה פי חדית אל

10 מתאע נחב מן מולאי אן ישק עלי רוחה פיה ויביע ובללה יא מולאי מא

11 נתחלין פיה עלי מא דכר שריכי ולאכן מא יאכד ואחד אלא מא קצי

---

[1] Many letters begin with the simple word כתאבי. Cf. MS. Paris Consistoire VII. E. 18: .....כתאבי יא שיכי אטאל אללה; Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 10: .....כתאבי אטאל אללה. Sometimes אלי is added; MS. Paris VII. E. 12, No. 31: .....כתאבי אלי סידי; cf. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 21. Sometimes the verb is used, in the first person or in the third person; e.g. Taylor-Schechter, 5. 7, No. 6: .....כתבת אטאל אללה; Bodl. MS. Hebr. c. 28, No. 55; Taylor-Schechter, 10. J4, No. 1: .....כתב עבד מולאי. Again, the verb is left to be understood; e.g. MS. Paris VII. E. 24. For the forms of address in Genizah letters, see Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 721 ff., and Goldziher, in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lv, pp. 54 ff.

[2] So the words should perhaps be rendered in this letter, instead of by "Lord and Master."

[3] In our texts there is a habit of using interchangeably the second and third persons, when speaking to the addressee; and the singular and plural of the first person, when the writer speaks of himself. In our translation we use one form only in each case.

[4] This formula gives some trouble because of its indefiniteness.

[5] Cf. the Koran, ch. i, verse 1. [6] جَواب here in the modern colloquial sense.

Genizah Fragment 12

XII LETTER

The Arabic is as slovenly as the script, and shows strong colloquial tendencies. The style is abbreviated and technical, perhaps intentionally cryptic. As he goes on the writer becomes more and more incoherent.

A letter from an unknown man to one whose name we read uncertainly as Abū Yaḥyā Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm, urging him to attend to certain business matters the nature of which is not clear.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter[1], Sir[2], [to you]. May God lengthen your[3] life and prolong your[3] health and happiness! Behold [in me] the inquirer[4]
2 after the state of your health and fortunes. God, the Lord of the Worlds[5], disposes [our affairs]. [There are now] 7 [days] remaining of [the month of] Shebhāṭ. May God complete it
3 auspiciously for you and us! I am informing you, Sir, a number of letters have gone forward from me to you. I hope [to receive]
4 your answer to them. Your letter arrived by the hand of master Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Ḳfwḥ (?).
5 And then arrived, after it, another letter[6], by the hand of Lfyj (?). And you say in it: "Sell
6 gold to whoever needs it most. Send him the dīnārs as a favor[7], [the dīnār] equalling from 17 to 18 [and a] half [dirhams][8]." And I am still[9] in need[10] of [doing] this,
7 Sir. I desire of you, Sir, that you display some zeal, and sell and buy what
8 I told you to in the letter: not selecting some [one] thing[11] from it, but strictly doing everything that remains for you [to do], and what
9 I directed you [to do] in the matter[12] of the deposit. And may it become.....And what I said in the matter[12] of the
10 [personal] effects. I desire of [you], Sir, that you discipline yourself in this matter, and sell. And by Allah, Sir,
11 we are not going to save ourselves in [the business] according to what my partner says. But let no one take anything except what was decided upon

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[7] شاكريّة usually means "wages"; etymologically "thankfulness."

[8] Reading לי for ל, and נוץ for نُصّ, the colloquial form of نِصْف. In the ninth and tenth centuries the dīnār was worth about 15 dirhams. See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 1890, p. 43.

[9] Or in the modern colloquial sense: "I have come to be."

[10] נעתנג is perhaps *ni'tāj*, for نَحْتَاج.

[11] Vernacular sense.

[12] חדית can hardly have any other meaning here. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 258, col. 2, line 4 from below.

12 . . . דכרתה פי כאבְ מן כאן קד סלמת לה ולמא כאן לה ענדי וקד
13 . . . . . ה ארטאל ולא נקץ סער וכ לעשרה והו יא מולאי פיה טול רוח
14 אן עצים ומא נדרי כיף כרג ראקְ ובכא ומא אצף לך מא קאיתְ
15 . . . ל עַנְדְ ומא קבצת ל בקית לא ווהטווט ומא יצח פי כלהא
16 אלא נחו ג דנאניר ולמשרך אללאן הו פי תרוגה והו לסעה מא וצל
17 ואן מְ[א] תוגה שי אלי אעְדא פְלם אגעלה פי לורק לו וגהו לכלפון
18 יביעה לך פמא אחתאג יא מולאי אדא וצל אבו עטר בן סְפראוי
19 תקבץ מנה יו דינאר אל . הי . גאְך מתאע אלדי כאנתְ לסידי
20 אל . . נין תדפעהא לה פתעלמני פיהא פי כתא[ב]ך אלאן קלבי
21 פיהא משגול אלא אן יצל כתאבך ולם לאי . ל . ומא
22 כאנת מן חאגה אוהב לי פיהא ותכון עני אבי אסחק ברהוּן
23 באפְצל סלאם ואן כתבת לי אבו ציד תקרי עני סידי
24 אבי אסחק ברהון סלאם ואבי עאללחסון סלאם ותשתרי
25 לי דסתין ורק גיאד וקד כתבת לכלפון ישתרי לך כבסא

Address:

1 לסידי מולאי אבי יח[יה] נתנא[ל] בן נסים נּע בן מחבה מצרוף בן מוסי נע
2 אטאל אללה עזה ואדאם סלאמתה ונעמתה . . . . . אלפסטאט אן שללה

---

13 Reading כתאב.

14 Reading מן מא or ממא.

15 סער for ? סאר

16 אללאן is הלאן.

17 [ות]תרַחַּי.

18 Colloquial, *lissa*.

12 .....I said in [the] letter[13] about what[14] I have turned over to him and what I had of his [property]. And

13 .....5 roṭls, and not less, amount to[15] 26 for ten. And it [requires] patience,

14 great [patience]. And we do not know how it went.....and weeping. And I cannot describe to you what.....

15 .....and for all of it not [less]

16 than about 3 dīnārs would be proper. And the man who has taken [me] as partner is at present[16] hoped for[17] but has not yet[18] arrived.

17 But he is not[19] going to [our] enemies. But I did not put it on paper. If they had only gone to Ḥalfōn

18 to sell it for you. And what I require of you, Sir, [is that] when Abū ʿIṭr Ibn Sufrāwī arrives,

19 you take from him 16 dīnārs.....[personal] effects which belonged to master

20 .....you deliver them to him and then notify me of it in your letter. At present I am

21 worried[20] about them—until your letter arrives;.....and I

22 had nothing of my own remaining among them. And let there be from me [to][21] Abū Isaac Brhōn(?)

23 the most excellent[22] of greetings! And I have written to Abū Ṣaʿīd(?). Give my greetings [to][21] master

24 Abū Isaac Brhōn(?) and Abū al-Ḥusain(?). And buy

25 for me two books of paper of the best quality. I have written to Ḥalfōn to buy the pickles(?)[23].

Address:

To master Abū Yaḥyā(?) Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm Ibn Maḥabbah(?) Maṣrūf(?) Ibn Moses. May God prolong his vigor and continue his health and prosperity! Fusṭāṭ—if it please God!

---

[19] Colloquial suffix, *-sh.*

[20] משל was written and deleted. [21] ל omitted.

[22] The scribe corrected the first two or three letters, and we can read neither the original nor the correction. He may have intended אפצל.

[23] كُبَسَاء, plural of كَبِيس ?

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

A long strip of paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ inches.
Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

Recto :

1 אלבאקי מן פסקה אלכראג	
דפע	
2 אלשייך אבו אל כיר אלבמארין	דינר
3 אלשייך אבו סדור פרח	דינר
4 אלשייך אבו סעד אבן אלסוכרי	דינר
5 אבן עמה	דינר ונצף
6 אלשייך אבו מנצור אבן חיים	דינרין
7 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן אלבהורי	נצף דינר
8 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן שעיא	נצף דינר
9 אלשייך אבו מנצור אלדוסתרי	דינר
10 אלכאתב אלדי דאר למאט	נצף דינר
11 אבן אלתרמדי	רבע דינר
12 אלשייך אבו אלחסן סבאע	נצף דינר
13 אבן אבוה	רבע דינר
14 אבו סעד אבן אלקאבסי	רבע דינר
15 אבן אלרפא	רבע דינר
16 ולד אסחק אבו פרח	רבע דינר
17 צהר נסים	תמן דינר
18 אבן עמראן אלטביב	רבע דינר

---

[1] "Good-luck."

[2] We omit the vowels when they are not known.

[3] "Lotus tree." [4] "Joy." [5] "Good-luck."

[6] "Sugary." Cf. *Zuckermann*, *Suessmann*, *Suesskind*, etc.

[7] Or Ibn 'Ammō. [8] Hebrew, "Life."

[9] "Lion-like." Cf. No. VII, note 4; or else بُهُورِيّ "of victories." The words "he has paid" were written above this name, then blotted out.

[10] Perhaps שַׁעְיָא from יְשַׁעְיָהוּ Isaiah.

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

The title and contents indicate that we have here a register of tax-payers in some Jewish community, probably in Fusṭāṭ, with the amounts that they have paid—not the balance to be paid (as l. 1 states)—of the fiscal tax.

Interest centers in the personal names. One must remember, however, that these people were often no more conscious of the meaning and implication of their names than we ourselves are of ours. There are Arab-Muslim, Jewish and double names, epithets and descriptive identifications. The Jewish names already include well-known modern motifs.

Recto:

1 The Remainder of the Government Poll-Tax:

Paid by

2 The Sheikh Abū al-Khair[1] al-Bmārīn[2] — a dīnār.

3 The Sheikh Abū Sudūr[3] Faraḥ[4] — a dīnār.

4 The Sheikh Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Sūkkarī[6] — a dīnār.

5 His cousin[7] — a dīnār and a half.

6 The Sheikh Abū Manṣūr Ibn Ḥayyīm[8] — two dīnārs.

7 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn al-Bahwarī[9] — a half dīnār.

8 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn Sha'yā[10] — a half dīnār.

9 The Sheikh Abū Manṣūr, the registrar[11] — a dīnār.

10 The Scribe who [lives in the] house of Lmāṭ — a half dīnār.

11 Ibn al-Tirmidhī[12] — a quarter dīnār.

12 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Sibā'[13] — a half dīnār.

13 Ibn Abūh[14] — a quarter dīnār.

14 Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Ḳābisī — a quarter dīnār.

15 Ibn al-Rifā[15] — a quarter dīnār.

16 Walad Isaac[16] Abū Faraḥ[4] — a quarter dīnār.

17 The brother-in-law[17] of Nissīm[18] — an eighth dīnār.

18 Ibn 'Umrān[19], the physician — a quarter dīnār.

---

[11] Perhaps الدُّسْتُورِيّ.

[12] From Tirmidh.

[13] "Lion." Cf. note 9.

[14] Vernacular for ابن أَبِيهِ and meaning "Son of his (unknown) father," i.e. "illegitimate," or "son of his (well-known) father"; like Hebrew בן־אביו.

[15] "Harmony." [16] "Progeny of Isaac."

[17] Or "son-in-law."

[18] "Wonders."

[19] "Prosperity."

19	אבן סהל אלשראבי	תמן דינר
20	אבן מפרג אלאבזארי	תמן דינר
21	אבן בושיר	נצף דינר
22	אלשייך אבו אלחסן צדקה	נצף דינר
23	אלשייך אבו זכרי אבן סוגמאר	נצף דינר
24	אבו אלפ̣רג נסים	נצף דינר
25	אבו זכרי אבן מנשה	רבע דינר
26	אבו נצר אבן אלמקונן ושריכה	נצף דינר
27	מוסי אבן אלמגאני	תמן דינר
28	נסים אלמגרבי	תמן דינר
29	אבו אלכיר אלצירפי	קירתין
30	אבו עמראן ענד אלשרטא	תמן דינר
31	אבן רחמה	רבע דינר
32	אבו עמראן בן צגיר	רבע דינר
33	אבו עמראן	רבע דינר
34	אבו נצר בן מכתאר	רבע דינר
35	אבו אלכיר אלגיר	רבע דינר
	Verso :	
36	מולאי אלשיך אבו מנצור	נצף דינר
37	אבו סעד אבן אל קטאיף	נצף דינר
38	אבו עמראן אבן אלכיאט	רבע.תמן רבע דינר
39	אבו אל חי	תמן דינר
40	אבו אל חסין אבן אל עאבד וצהרה הבה אלגמי[ע]	
41	וצהרה אבו אלפרג	נצף ורבע

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[20] "Easy," i.e. of birth, or wished-for future.

[21] "Comforter."

[22] From Buzār, a village about two parasangs distant from Nīsāpūr, Persia. Cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. 6, 30, רז.

[23] "Little messenger of good."

[24] Hebrew צדקה "Righteousness."

[25] Perhaps an abbreviation of Hebrew זְכַרְיָה Zechariah.

19 Ibn Sahl[20] the wine-dealer — an eighth dīnār.
20 Ibn Mufarrij[21] al-Ubzārī[22] — an eighth dīnār.
21 Ibn Bushair[23] — a half dīnār.
22 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳah[24] — a half dīnār.
23 The Sheikh Abū Zekharāi[25] Sūjmār — a half dīnār.
24 Abū al-Faraj Nissīm[18] — a half dīnār.
25 Abū Zekharāi[25] Ibn Manasseh — a quarter dīnār.
26 Abū Naṣr the son of the public mourner[26], and his partner — a half dīnār.
27 Moses Ibn al-Majānī[27] — an eighth dīnār.
28 Nissīm[18] al-Maghribī[28] — an eighth dīnār.
29 Abū al-Khair[1] the money-changer — two carats[29].
30 Abū 'Umrān[19], with the police[30] — an eighth dīnār.
31 Ibn Raḥmah[31] — a quarter dīnār.
32 Abū 'Umrān[19] Bin[32] Ṣaghīr[33] — a quarter dīnār.
33 Abū 'Umrān[19] — a quarter dīnār.
34 Abū Naṣr Bin[32] Mukhtār — a quarter dīnār.
35 Abū al-Khair[1] the proselyte[34] — a quarter dīnār.

Verso:

36 My lord the Sheikh Abū Manṣūr — a half dīnār.
37 Abū Sa'd[5] Ibn al-Katā'if[35] — a half dīnār.
38 Abū 'Umrān, son of the tailor[36] — a quarter dīnār.
39 Abū al-Ḥayy[37] — an eighth dīnār.
40 Abū al-Ḥusain Ibn al-'Ābid[38] and his brother-in-law[17], Hibah[39] — the whole.
41 And the brother-in-law[17] of Abū al-Faraj — a half and a quarter dīnār.

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[26] מְקוֹנֵן, a Hebrew word with an Arabic article.
[27] "Profit." [28] "From the Barbary States."
[29] I.e. one-twelfth dīnār.
[30] شُرْطَه? or perhaps for شُطَراء "strangers." [31] "Mercy."
[32] Here written בן and not אבן. This is possibly the north African *Bin*; hardly the Hebrew בֶּן; almost certainly the regular form ابن as it appears in names in Arabic orthography.
[33] "Little." [34] Hebrew גַּר; or else جَيِّد "good."
[35] "Sweetmeats." Cf. note 6.
[36] Or Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. Over this name there is written in small letters, "a quarter, an eighth."
[37] "Living." Cf. note 8.
[38] "Pious." [39] "Gift."

42 צרקה אל צפין	רבע דינר
43 צרקה אל זגאג	רבע דינר
44 אבו אל חוסין אלדהבי	רבע דינר
45 טיבאן	רבע דינר
46 אבו אל חסן צדקה בן שמעון	רבע דינר
47 אלשיך אבו אסחק אבן אל עסאל	רבע דינר
48 פרג בן נחום	רבע דינר
49 אזהר בן אזהר	רבע דינר
50 אלשיך אבו אסחק בן חוגיג	רבע דינר
51 אלשיך אבו סחק אל פצי	רבע דינר
52 אלשיך אבו יוסף אבן אל	רבע דינר
53 כלף אלזיאת	תמן דינר
54 אבו סרור סדר אלמגרבי	רבע דינר
55 אבו מוסי הרון אלגהבד	רבע דינר

40 "Hidden Treasure." 41 The same as Ḥusain, of course.

42 "Golden." Cf. *Goldmann*, *Goldstein*, *Goldberg*, etc.

43 Pedantic as it would be, perhaps it is طَيِّبًا "well done!"

42 Ṣadaḳah[24] al-Ṣafīn[40] — a quarter dīnār.
43 Ṣadaḳah[24] the glazier — a quarter dīnār.
44 Abū al-Ḥūsain[41] al-Dhahabī[42] — a quarter dīnār.
45 Ṭayyibān[43] — a quarter dīnār.
46 Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳah[24] Bin[32] Simon — a quarter dīnār.
47 The Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn al-'Assāl[44] — a quarter dīnār.
48 Faraj Bin[32] Nahum — a quarter dīnār.
49 Azhar Bin[32] Azhar[45] — a quarter dīnār.
50 The Sheikh Abū Isaac Bin[32] Ḥūjaij[46] — a quarter dīnār.
51 The Sheikh Abū Isaac[47] al-Fiḍḍī[48] — a quarter dīnār.
52 The Sheikh Abū Joseph Ibn al-..... — a quarter dīnār.
53 Kalaf[49] the oil-dealer — an eighth dīnār.
54 Abū[50] Sarūr Sidr[51] al-Maghribī[28] — a quarter dīnār.
55 Abū Moses Aaron the money-changer — a quarter dīnār.

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[44] "Sweet as honey." Cf. note 6.

[45] "Very brilliant." Cf. *Glanz*, *Finkelstein*, etc.

[46] حُجَيج "Little ear-ring." [47] The ℵ has been omitted.

[48] "Silvery." Cf. *Silbermann*, *Silberstein*, etc.

[49] "Love," or perhaps خَلْف "progeny."

[50] There seems to have been something before this, blotted out.

[51] "Lotus tree."

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper. One double page, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters. On the *verso* much has been blurred and effaced.

Recto: (*a*)

1 שרח אלדי וקע עלי אלחריר אלמצבוג
2 אלאצל כאם סו רטל אלתמן שׁ דינר
3 וכרג עליהא נפקה ולואזם מא ישרח
4 אולא נקין אלסו רטל כ דינר
5 ופי קרמז ללצבאג פה דינר
6 ופי נפקה ענהא כה דינר
7 ופי אגרת אל .... צבאגין כ דינר
8 ופי צבאג אכ̣ל ואכצר כד דינר
9 דאלך אלגמלה קעד דינר
10 אלגמלתין תעד דינר
11 צח פיה מצבוג סג רטל

Recto: (*b*)

1 וזן אלחריר אלדי תרכת ענד סידי אבי
2 אסחק אבן אלאסכנדראני סלמה ללה
3 יז רטל בזאש

Verso: (*a*)

1 אלדי לי פי פור .....ג אעדל
2 נפ·ס·ע...א... בחמל אלכרי [1]
3 מתקאלין ונצף ואיצא עדל חריר
4 פיה ..... אלחריר וּמ·וד מצבוג
5 ורזמתין לי עתיק ובסאטט כביר
6 חסב ניף חמל כרתה מתקאל ורבע
7 קבין מן דאלך .... תכון מתקאלין
8 בקי עלי מ[תקא]לין אלי רבע ידפעהא

[1] A roṭl is equal to about 12 ounces.

[2] Cf. No. VII, note 8.

[3] Perhaps some mistake had been made in the weighing, or the quality was not what it should have been.

[4] He had written [צין]תלא "polishers."

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 14 a

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Recto: (*a*)

1 Detail of the sum spent for the dyed silk:
2 The stock, unbleached, 66 roṭls[1]; price — 300 dīnārs[2].
3 Expenses and other necessaries paid out as follows:
4 Firstly, diminution in the value of the 66 roṭls[3] — 20 dīnārs.
5 And in crimson dye for the dyer — 85 dīnārs.
6 And in expenses connected with this — 25 dīnārs.
7 And in wages for the dyers[4] — 20 dīnārs.
8 And in.....[5] and green dyes — 24 dīnārs.

---

9 The whole sum equals — 174 dīnārs.
10 The two sums equal — 474 dīnārs.
11 There resulted actually of dyed goods, 63 roṭls.

Recto: (*b*)

1 Weight of the silk which I left with my lord Abū
2 Isaac al-Iskandarānī—God grant him grace!—
3 is 17 roṭls.....(?)[6]

Verso: (*a*)

1 .....which belongs to me in.....3 bales
2 .....by the load[7]
3 two mithḳāls[8] and a half, and also a bale of silk,
4 in which.....the silk, and dyed.....
5 and two bundles of clothes belonging to me, old[9], and a large rug[10]
6 enough for more than the load of.....a mithḳāl and a quarter
7 taken off from this.....becomes two mithḳāls.
8 There remains on two mithḳāls as much as a quarter which he will pay

---

[5] Perhaps أَخْطَل "fly-green," or أَرْبَل "tree-green."

[6] A word of four letters follows.

[7] כרי = كِرًى for كراء. Cf. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Vol. iv, p. 340.

[8] Cf. No. VII, note 8.

[9] We should have expected a dual.

[10] בסאטט has an extra ט as if بَسَاطِيط from a singular بُسْطَاط.

9 אליה . . . . . דפעתהא אליה

10 . . . . ת ב . . עמראן אלסקלי עדל פיה

11 . . . . . בות מרנאן מנהא אלי אלמראג

12 ב . ז . ול . . . כלה וילכא . . . לי . . . וזנת

13 אנא ען . . . . אלעדל חמל וברטיל דירה[ם]

Verso : (b)

1 שרי אלעצפר ה קנאטיר מן סער

2 כט דינר כל קנטאר אלתמן קמה דינר

3 וכרג ענה אנטאע ותלים ותכאל וכיט

4 ושרא . ח דנאר ודרהמין וברטיל

5 וחמלין ולואזם יב דרה דאלך מן אלגמלה

6 . . דינר כד דינר ו דרה

---

11 Cf. סקליה = "Sicily," in Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, Vol. ii, p. 74, l. 11: صقلية, سقليه. Ibn Khurdādhbih (de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. vi), p. 91.

9 to him.....I have paid them to him
10 .....'Umrān the Sicilian[11], a sack in which is
11 .....corals, some of them belonging to the coral-gatherer[12]
12 .....I have weighed
13 I from.....the sack, the porterage and the bakshish of a dirham.

Verso: (b)

1 He has bought 5 hundredweight of saffron from Sa'd
2 [paying] 29 dīnārs for every hundredweight [which makes] the price 145 dīnārs
3 and [these should be] deducted from this [for] leather table-cloths, and .....and.....and string
4 and.....8 dīnārs and 2 dirhams, and bakshish
5 and [for] porters[13] and [other] necessary expenses 12 dirhams. This [to be taken] from the sum
6 .....dīnārs, 24 dīnārs, 6 dirhams.

---

[12] مَرَّاج instead of the usual مَرَاجِنِيّ.

[13] חמלין for حَمَّالِين, but in the colloquial form *ḥámmalīn*.

XV. CHARM

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, not easily read. Vowel points are occasionally inserted, but ignorantly. The spelling is bad, and may represent a peculiar pronunciation: Moroccan, Persian, Yemenite or Ashkenazic. The Arabic article and imperative have crept in.

Recto:

1 בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה נעשה וְנִצְלֶח
2 עַל פִּי יָהוָה יָבִיא אֵלַי שֵׂר
3 השרים אך : מיטטרון
4 אך הוא אהוב וחביב
5 מכל פְּנֵי מרומן עבד
6 לאלוהי ישראל כהן גודל
7 ראש הכהנים שיש לך
8 שבעים שימות שאתה
9 הממונה על הסרים הגדולים
10 ואתה ראש המהנות
11 משביע אני עוליך בשם יָהוָה
12 צְבָאוֹת אלוהי ישראל יָושֵׁב
13 הכרובים ובשם המפורש
14 ובשם הגודל הגבר והנרא
15 החזק הא·מן המסגב הנפלא
16 וּבְשֵׁם אֶסְטֶטֶסֶם אֵל רחמא[ן]
17 שתאביא ולמימר בשושן
18 בשמחה בבשרה טובה

---

[1] Or perhaps שר השדים, "the Prince of demons." In any case "prince" is the technical term for the figures seen by the "scryer," or gazer into crystals, ink-pools, and the like. The Arabs call them "kings." In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 37 ff., there is abundant material on this subject. See also Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913; and Blau, *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 11. *Sanhedrīn*, 101a says: "One is allowed to ask the princes of oil and the princes of eggs; only they lie. One whispers a spell over oil in the vessel, but does not whisper over oil in the hand....." Blau fails to understand that this refers to scrying with oil and with eggs, broken into a cup or plate. Rashī (11th cent.) on the passage, explains the "princes of oil" as "princes of the thumb." They are figures seen in the oiled thumbnail.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 15 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 15 b

XV. CHARM

This is a magical text, to be used in "scrying," or self-hypnotic gazing, at some bright surface. The angel Mīṭaṭrōn is adjured by the Ineffable Name, with the will of God, to reveal through an apparition, or "prince," the location of hidden gold pieces, to one Ṣedhāḳāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl, and his mother, Sitt al-Ahl. The magic is kept "white" by reference to the God of Israel; but His Name is nevertheless taken in vain. Scrying with oil, ink, egg, and bright objects was common among Jews and Arabs in the Orient, then as now.

Recto:

In the Name of YHWH may we do and prosper!
According to the word of YHWH may it bring to me the Prince of
the princes[1], Akh[2]! Mīṭaṭrōn[3]!
Akh[2]! He is more beloved[4] and dear
than all the faces of His heaven. A servant[5]
unto the God of Israel! High Priest[6]!
Chief of the Priests, unto whom belong
seventy names! [You] who are
the appointed one over the great princes!
You, the chief of the appointed ones!
I adjure you[7] by the Name YHWH
Ṣebhā'ōth, the God of Israel, seated
above the Cherubim[8]! And by the Ineffable Name!
And by the Great, Mighty, Awful Name[9]!
The Strong, Steadfast[10], Exalted, Gigantic [Name]!
And by the name Eses! Teses[11]! Raḥmān[12]!
That you bring and [make] to speak, gladly[13],
with rejoicing and good tidings;

---

[2] A proper name or a magical word of power.

[3] The highest of the angels. See Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim.*

[4] This is "white" magic. The possible evil of resorting to it is averted by considering the spiritual agent as merely the deputy of God, or as a blessed agency.

[5] After עבד was written סגן, "deputy high priest."

[6] גדול is constantly spelled גודל in this text.

[7] עוליך for עָלֶיךָ. The ך was deflected toward *o*.

[8] From I Samuel iv, 4.

[9] The writer intended הגדול הגבור הנורה.

[10] There is a deleted letter in האמן.

[11] Magical words of power. On the *margin*: "Forever and ever."

[12] Arabic as well as Hebrew.

[13] There would be danger in dealing with unwilling spirits.

19 ותראיני לי וליה אמר
20 בזה הלילה מהירה אי
21 זה מקם אלזהובים פה
22 אלכה עינינו נראה זה
23 המקם תמים תמים
24 בשם השבעתי עוליך אתה
25 השר הגודל עשה במהירה
26 ברוּגְאה עשה ואל תאחר
27 וכבודך של שם המפורש
28 יהי רצוֹן מלפני יְהוָה
29 לצדקה בן שׁת אלאהֿל

Verso :

30 ולשת אלאהל ויודיע
31 מחשובת אמן אמן
32 סלה הודיעינו אי זה
33 מזה מקם אשׁר במקם
34 וארה ולא אשכח אתה
35 ואכירה שבע פעומים
36 ותנצל נפשי מן זה המות
37 הזה השבעתי עוליך
38 אשר הגודל הממונה על השרים
39 בשם יְהוָה אלהֵי ישראל יושׁ
40 הכרובים שתראיני אלחלם
41 שבעה פעומים ולא אשכח
42 אתה ברוך שם כבוד
43 מלכותו לעולם ועד אמֿן
44 אמן סלה תת תת תתתת
45 תת תת תת . תת ותת
46 אמן סלה ברך שם כבוד

---

14 For לִי וְלֵה (Aramaic).
15 Arabic article with a Hebrew word.
16 בְּרֵנְעָה ?

19 and that you cause me to see: [cause] me [to see] it[14]!
[This, O magician,] say:
20 "In this night! Quickly! Where is
21 this—the place of the[15] gold pieces? Here?
22 Let me go! [With] our eyes let us see this—
23 the place! Perfectly! Perfectly!
24 By the Name I have adjured you[7]! You,
25 the Great Prince! Act quickly,
26 instantly[16]! Act, and delay not!
27 And [by] your honor, which is [the honor of] the Ineffable Name!
28 Let it be a favor from the presence of YHWH,
29 unto Ṣedhāḳāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl[17].

Verso:

30 and unto Sitt al-Ahl! And may he make known
31 thoughts[18]! Amen! Amen!
32 Selah! Inform us! Where is this—
33 what is this place which is somewhere[19]!
34 And let me see; and do not you forget [, O Prince][20]!"
35 And [this is] the end[21], [of the spell, which you say] seven times[22].
36 And may my soul escape this—this
37 death[23]! I adjure you[7],
38 who are the great one, appointed over the princes,
39 by the name of YHWH, the God of Israel, seated above
40 the Cherubim, that you show me the[15] dream[24]!
41 [The following say] seven times[22], and do not forget[20]:
42 "Thou art blessed, Name of Honor!
43 His rule is forever and ever! Amen!
44 Amen! Selah! TT TT TTTT
45 TT TT TT. TT and TT[11]
46 Amen! Selah! Blessed is the Name of Honor!

---

[17] I.e. "Lady of the Family." Cf. the Arabic name Sitt al-Dār in No. XI, and Sitt al-Bahā, Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 363.

[18] For מחשבות.

[19] The disjointed construction may be due to confusion.

[20] An Arabic imperative of a Hebrew word.

[21] Arabic.

[22] פעומים for פְּעָמִים. The ר was deflected toward *o*.

[23] I.e. the result of attempting the spell, or of not ridding oneself of its influence at the conclusion. Cf. p. 49 of the article in *J.A.O.S.* cited. Professor Campbell Bonner suggests reading מית = מֵת "dead"; and understands here a reference to a necrodaemon.

[24] I.e. the vision in the crystal.

47 השבעתי עליך השר
48 הגודל הממונה
49 על השרים הגדלים
50 בשם המפורש
51 שתראיני מקם
52 אלזהובים ולא
53 אשכח אתה בערק
54 תמים ותגלה לי
55 לי אנא סורה במהרה
56 אמן אמן סלה

I adjure you, O Great
Prince, the appointed one
over the great princes,
by the Ineffable Name!
that you show me the place
of the gold pieces. And do not
you forget[20]! [It is] in a box!
Perfectly! And reveal to me!
To me! Me! SWRH! Quickly!
Amen! Amen! Selah!"

XVI. DOCUMENT

A small sheet of paper, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing a document in Arabic script and language.

The script is atrociously bad; and for the full deciphering, it would need the vision of the late Professor J. Karabacek[1]. In two or three places only are dots used to distinguish one letter from several of its fellows.

The scrawl at the end of line 8 can only be imagined to stand for six hundred. If this is correct, the document is dated Monday, the 2nd of Shawwāl, 654 A.H., or the 23rd of October, A.D. 1256.

On the *verso* are three more lines of the same sort, and above these at least one preceding line. Of these scarcely a word can be read.

The difficulty of deciphering such writing as this might be compared to what would be encountered centuries hence by anyone who tried to read the strange marks now made by salesmen on their sales-slips in our department stores.

Grateful acknowledgment of assistance is here made to M. Casanova of Paris, to Mr David Yellin of Jerusalem, and to Mr Raja F. Howrani.

Recto:

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اقر محمد بن مصطفى بن عبد الله الفران وصله
من مدة

2 . . . . . للوضع نحوه له مرسم عنده فى ضمنه وحرزه

3 لغرض ماله لمرسم له قبل اسحاق بن ابى سعد بن محاسن اليهودى

4 الكعكى وصله سالما . دفع . طالما من يشهد بتوفيه ضمنه

5 مهما ضمنه فى مبلغ المسطور المكتوب على اسحاق المذكور وعلى ابرهيم

6 بركات حق بلا طلب ولا ضمان لمرسمى فيه

7 ولا حق من سائر الحقوق كلها بالغاية باسرها

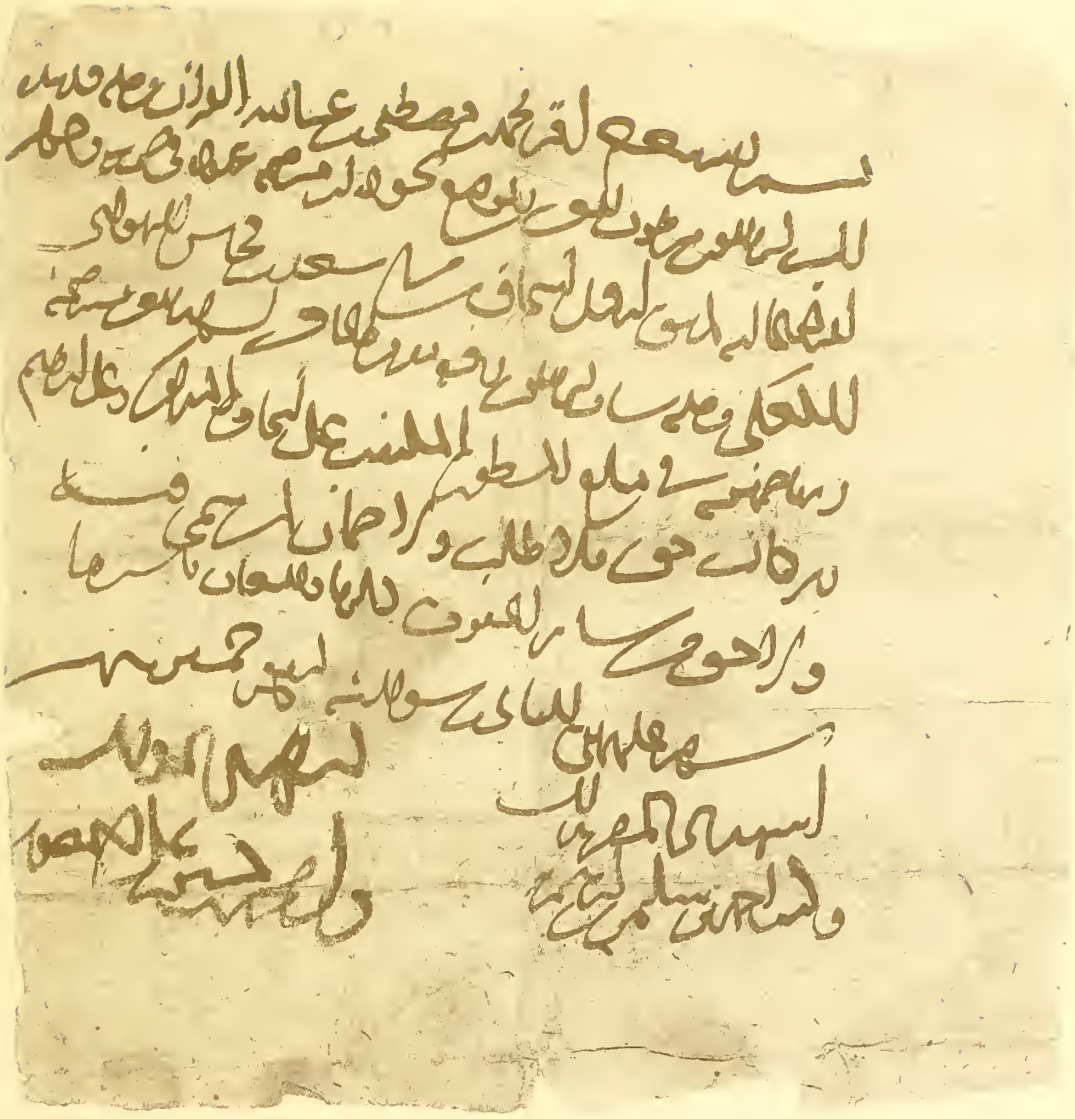
8 شهد عليهما فى الثانى من شوال سنة اربع وخمسين وستماة

9 اشهد على المقر بذلك

10 وكتب احمد بن سليمان بن ابرهيم
اشهد بذلك
وكتب محمد بن حسين بن على بن منصور

---

[1] See, e.g., his publication of specimens from Arabic documents in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vols. ii and iii, pp. 87 seq., his *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 259, and al-Ḳalḳāshandī's *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. iii, pp. 55–142.



Genizah Fragment 16 a

Genizah Fragment 16 b

XVI. DOCUMENT

A document in which a Muslim, Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā, acknowledges that he has received from two Jews, Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd and Abraham Barakāt, the value of money which they owe him. Isaac and Abraham are released from any further responsibility for this. Isaac seems to have transacted the business. Two Muslims sign their names as witnesses of the acknowledgment. Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā does not himself sign. The words "he wrote" before the signatures show that we have here only a copy of the document. Perhaps this is often the case with our fragments.

Recto:

1 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā Ibn 'Abdallāh, the Baker, acknowledges [that] he received some time ago

2 .....[2] as a deposit and so forth[3], belonging to him, itemized, in his possession, in his responsible custody,

3 as something belonging to him, documented as his, in the presence of Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd Ibn Muḥāsin the Jew,

4 the pastryman, [that] he has received safely.....payment.....as long as anyone witnesses the complete payment of his responsibility,

5 whatever his responsibility, in the sum documented and written down against the aforementioned Isaac and against Abraham

6 Barakāt, a right without question and without responsibility for the things explicitly mentioned[4]

7 or any claim of all the remaining [possible] claims, at the utmost, in their entirety.

8 He testified regarding the two of them on the second of Shawwāl, [of] the year six hundred and fifty-four.

9 I testify regarding him who acknowledged this: And he wrote[5]: "Aḥmad Ibn Sulaimān Ibn Ibrahīm." I testify regarding this:

10 And he wrote[5]: "Muḥammad Ibn Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn Manṣūr."

---

[2] Evidently certain articles are named here, or sums of money. The second word in this line occurs again as the fourth word in line 4.

[3] نحوه, abbreviating some documentary formula.

[4] لمرسمى is plainly written. Is it intended for a plural construct?

[5] Equivalent to our bracketed word "Signed."

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, written upon both sides.

Hebrew in rude, cursive Hebrew letters.

The strophe is of four lines, the first three of which rime, while the fourth line contains the general rime of the hymn. The first line in the fragment contains the end of one stanza. There follow three stanzas, and then comes one line containing a few words of supplication that are often used as a mark of division between one poem and another one succeeding it. After these stanzas come two stanzas of two different pizmōnīm ; but these contain only two lines each, so-called "sheniyyah," though the same rime ends each half-line. A later hand has copied and fully punctuated these two stanzas.

Recto :

והוכה ומת אין לו דמים[1]

פזמ

כלה נא מאדום צבא והמון[2]

וקם שבט מנוחלי דת אמון[3]

ואז על משפטו ישב ארמון[4]

נא בצדקת אב המון בא בימים

פזמ

נא בשוב עמך אל יקח בשנה

ופדהו שנית כמו מגושנה

לשוב בשנות קדם לשער הישנה

לחוג בשנה שלש פעמים

פזמ

זרויים ישמיע אל מזבולו

קול מבשר מאת פניה' כי לו

[צאנ]כם עם מרעיתו וחבלו

יב[שר] גאולה ולא יקהת עמים

אל מלך יושב על כסא רחמים

אל מלך

---

[1] Cf. Exodus xxii, 1.

[2] I.e. Rome or the Byzantine Empire.

[3] Read וָקָם. Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17 : וָקָם שבט מישראל.

[4] The reference is, of course, to Egypt. The original reading of the third word was מנאון. This has been smudged out and beneath it מנוחלי written.

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

A portion of a Pizmōn, i.e. a hymn with a refrain, forming a part of the extensive Selīḥah, or penitential, literature, which was composed by the Jews during the early Middle Ages, and graced the Synagogal liturgy upon days set apart for invoking the forgiveness and the clemency of God.

Acknowledgments are due to Professor Israel Davidson for his help with some of the faded places, and with the literature.

Recto:

1 And be smitten that he die, there shall be no blood shed for him[1].

Pizmōn.

2 Make an end, now, in Edom[2] of host and legion,

3 And a sceptre shall rise[3] out of [Israel,] the inheritors of [subjection to] the law of Ammon[4].

4 And then in judgment may He sit in His palace—

5 Because of the righteousness of the Father of Nations, stricken in age[5].

Pizmōn.

6 O, when Thy people repenteth, let it not receive shame[6].

7 Redeem it a second time as Thou didst from Goshen,

8 That it may return, as in days of yore, to the Old Gate[7],

9 To celebrate Thy festivals three times a year.

Pizmōn.

10 May God cause His scattered ones to hear His voice from on high,

11 A voice of good tidings from God himself, that to Him belongs

12 Your flock[8], together with its pasture-place and its land,

13 Proclaiming redemption[9]. To Him the people shall gather.

14 O God, King, that sittest upon the seat of mercy.

15 O God, King!

---

[5] I.e. Abraham; cf. Genesis xviii, 11; xxiv, 1. The scribe wrote at first באימין, which he then corrected.

[6] Cf. Hosea x, 6: בָּיְשָׁנָה.

[7] Cf. Nehemiah iii, 6.

[8] Reading quite uncertain. Professor Davidson suggests as a possible reading עדריכם.

[9] Professor Davidson disagrees with the reading, and believes that only four letters fill the space, i.e. גולה. It is peculiar that וְלוֹ is written ולא, though in the passage (Gen. xlix, 10) there is no Kere and Kethibh.

Verso :

1 יי שמעה בקולי ראה עניי ועמלי
2 וכפר חטאי ומעלי יי אלהים חילי

פזמ

3 אם חטאי נשמר ועוני נגמר
4 בשרי מפחדך סמר יי מה אומר

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper $9\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Leaf from a merchant's note-book.

Arabic in Hebrew characters : written in a hurried cursive hand, similar to that on the *verso* of No. XXXVI, and very difficult to read.

Recto :

1 אבו זכרי קכו וה׳ בו
2 דאוד קכו ט קש
3 ואבו זכרי קפו ונף
4 אבו יוסף קפט . . . .
5 גדע אבי זכרי פה . . . .
6 . . . . . עולאי מלפלפל
7 צו ש

---

8 וגבת מ . . . פלפל עב ש
9 מנלך נוע כג ז וש
10 ודע גיץ ו ש . . . .
11 וגיץ ו . . . . נוע ו א ותלת
12 קנכא אלף . . . . . .
13 אבו אלסרור כל . . ג איצא
14 צא ש . . . .
15 ועליה צדת תצל בכט . . . .
16 פצנכת כח ש ונסף

Verso:

1 O God, listen to my voice, understand my affliction and my travail.
2 Forgive my sins and my faithlessness. The Lord God is my strength[10].

Pizmōn.

3 If my sin is to be remembered, if my iniquity is to be completed,
4 From fear of Thee my flesh would creep; O God! What shall I say[11]?

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

It is impossible to give a connected translation, or even to transcribe more than these first two sections of the *recto*. The remaining section of the *recto*, and the *verso*, which has two sections running from opposite ends to the center, are in the same hand, though more carelessly written.

Below we print a few of the expressions which are recognizable.

Recto:

1 Abū Zachariah, 126 and 5, 26
2 David, 126 9, 100, 300
3 and Abū Zachariah, 186 and a half
4 Abū Joseph, 189.....
5 Abū Zachariah's boy, 85.....
6 .....with pepper,
7 97, 300

---

8 And I brought.....pepper, 72, 300
9 .....variety, 23, 7 and 300
10 .....7, 300
11 .....variety, 6, 1 and a third.
12 .....thousand.....
13 Abū al-Sarūr, all...3 also
14 91, 300
15 and he owes.....combined with 29.....
16 .....28, 300 and a half

---

[10] Cf. Habakkuk iii, 19. [11] Cf. Joshua vii, 8.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

Paper $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Portion of a book (?) made up of long strips of paper which had been used once before. Upon the back there are some lines in a hopelessly difficult Arabic script.

Recto :

1 . . . בָּאֵשׁ אוֹכֶלֶת
2 וְאֵשׁ יָגוֹן שְׂרָפָת
3 וְכִמְעַט קָט אֲכָלַתְנִי
4 וְאֵיךְ תֵּיקַד וְכַפַּתְנִי
5 מַעְיָנֵי שְׁבוּלֶת
6 וְהֵן לָעָה דִּבְרָתִי
7 כִּי נִם רַבָּה מַכּוֹתִי
8 והושבה שִׁמְלָתִי
9 בְּדַם עֵינָי מְגוֹלֶלֶת
10 מ . . . . חָשְׁכוּ מְאוֹרָי
11 וְשָׁבוּ כְצֵל יצורי
12 ל . . . . . מְמְגוֹרָי
13 תֵּבֵל מִתְחַלְחֶלֶת
14 ומ . . . וְאָשְׁכוֹנָה
15 מְעוֹן תַּנִּין וּבַת יַעֲנָה
16 ויהי לִי כְנַף יוֹנָה
17 אוֹ רַגְלֵי אַיָּלֶת
18 ולִי יָאוֹר[1] בֵּינֵיהֶם
19 לִשְׁפוֹן . . . בְּנֵיהֶם
20 . . . . . וּמִקְרֵיהֶם
21 תּוּגָתִי נִכְפֶּלֶת
22 וְאָנוּד . . . . .
23 . . . . . ש וּבִי שָׁם פָּנָיו . . . . . .

[1] Cf. Ezekiel xvi, 47.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

The Hebrew of the *recto* is written in half-square characters, and is a portion of some *dīwān* or collection of poems. It is, however, written continuously, without any consideration for the form of the poem.

Professor Israel Davidson has very kindly gone over the fragment and made some useful suggestions. The text has been rearranged and pointed by Professor Gottheil.

Recto:

1 ..... as a fire that devoureth.

2 And a burning fire of grief.

3 And, as if that were only a little thing[1], it hath devoured me.

4 And how it burneth, and hath ground me in pieces!

5 [Like the] sources of a torrent.

6 And behold, my utterance stammereth.

7 For my wounds [are] a great wonder(?)

8 And my garment hath been cut(?)

9 Rolled in the blood of mine eyes.

10 ..... And my lights have grown dark

11 And my creations(?) have become like a shadow.

12 ..... from my neighbourhood.

13 A shaken world.

14 And ..... let me dwell.

15 The haunt of jackals[2] and the ostrich.

16 And let me have the wing of a dove

17 Or the legs of a hind.

18 And I shall have light in their midst.

19 To dwell ..... among them.

20 ..... and their accidents.

21 My grief is doubled.

22 And I shall wander .....

23 ..... and in me there His face .....

---

[2] Cf. Jeremiah ix, 10

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

Paper $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A leaf, in a half-square hand, from a book of Hebrew poems.

It begins with the last verse of a poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092—1167), the acrostic of whose name, *Abraham*, can be followed at the beginning of the four verses that remain out of the five. The first stanza must have been rimed with a *nun*. Each stanza is separated from its successor by the word פזמון.

Recto:

1 בָּ בָּ בָּ אל רחום וחנון

פזמ

2 בָּ בצל ידך כל כסית

3 בָּ על מי חשוכים אור נסית

4 בָּ כולם בחכמה עשית

פזמ

5 בָּ רמת מאד ומי יכיליך

6 בָּ תליתה כל עליך

7 בָּ אלהי אין ערוך אליך

פזמ

8 בָּ היש ויש לאין תתה

9 בָּ כבוד שמך למען שתה

10 בָּ מנת חלקי וכוסי אתה

פזמ

11 בָּ ממרום שלח קחיני

Verso:

12 בָּ בעצתך בחלדי נחיני

13 בָּ אל באפך תוכיחני

---

[1] Cf. Isaiah li, 16.

[2] Cf. Psalm civ, 24.

[3] Cf. Psalm xl, 6. The word אין is badly written אן.

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

The second poem, as Professor Davidson was quick to detect, is by Judah ha-Lēvī (b. 1035). The acrostic of his name can be discerned in the last six of these eight verses of the poem, the whole of which can be found in the *Diwān des Abū-l-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi* (ed. H. Brody), vol. iii, p. 164. The writer of our fragment calls it: פזמון בלבי according to the opening words. Brody's edition furnishes our emendations and restorations.

Recto:

1 Lord, Lord God, Merciful and Compassionate.

Pizmōn

2 O Lord, Thou hast covered everything with the shadow of Thy Hand[1]!
3 O Lord, over dark waters Thou hast raised a light.
4 O Lord, in wisdom Thou hast made them all[2].

Pizmōn

5 O Lord, Thou art very high-placed and who can comprehend Thee?
6 O Lord, Thou hast made everything dependent upon Thee.
7 O Lord, my God, there is nothing that can be compared unto Thee[3].

Pizmōn

8 O Lord, Existence, [who bringest] existence to nought[4].
9 O Lord, for the honour of Thy name [Thou hast caused] the year [to be.]
10 O Lord, the portion of mine inheritance and my cup art Thou[5].

Pizmōn

11 O Lord, send from above and take me[6].

Verso:

12 O Lord, lead me whilst in this life, by Thy counsel.
13 O Lord, chasten me not in Thy hot displeasure[7].

---

[4] Read תַּחְתָּה "below," and in the next verse שַׁתָּה "year," to rime with the following אַתָּה.

[5] Cf. Psalm xvi, 5.

[6] Psalm xviii, 17.

[7] Psalm vi, 2.

פזמ אחרת

14 [ב]ל[בי] ורעיוני [ובשפתי] רננ[י]

15 ובקהל עם המוני ארוממך יְיָ

16 ידידי בשחרים קחו נא הישרים

17 עמכם דברים ושובו אל יְיָ

פזמ בלבי

18 העם אשר דחום עמ[י]ם ולקחום

19 דעו כי אל רחום וחנון יְיָ

פזמ בלבי

20 ואחת שאלתי יבשר סלחתי

21 הנה נא הואלתי לדבר אל יְיָ

פזמ

---

[8] Read אמוני and cf. II Samuel xx, 19.

[9] Hosea xiv, 3.

Another Pizmōn

14 In my heart and in my thoughts and upon my lips is my rejoicing.
15 In the congregation of my faithful people[8], will I praise Thee O Lord.
16 O my beloved ones, at early morn take now the righteous.
17 [Take] with you words, and return unto the Lord[9].

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

18 O people, whom [other] peoples have oppressed and taken captive,
19 Know that gracious and full of compassion is the Lord[10].

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

20 One favor I ask, Speak the word[11] "I have forgiven[12]."
21 Behold now, I have taken it upon me to speak unto the Lord[13].

---

[10] Psalm cxi, 4.
[11] Read תבשר.
[12] Numbers xiv, 20.
[13] Genesis xviii, 27

XXI. LETTER

Paper $7 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in peculiar, perhaps Maghribī[1], cursive Hebrew characters, at times difficult to read. The last line, and two words elsewhere, are in Arabic characters.

Recto:

1 יא מולאי וסידי אדאם אללה עזך ואטאל מדתך כתבתה ליללה אלאחד
2 עז שוק לא יעלמה גיר אללה תעאלי וחצרתנא סכאפה פי דלך אלשכין
3 אלדי פי עלמך איצא ולעמרך פקד קצדת פיה איצא מרכזה וחכימא
4 ברמזא וקצדת איצא פיה אלחו . . פאפהם ואגצי עלי כל מא תראה
5 מתפצלא ואלפיל ובקוה אללה לם ירד יעטי אלואן ולכנה יצל אליך
6 אן שא אללה עלי כל חאל פלא תגעל אלי דלך באלא
7 ואקרא מולאי וסידי סלאמא גזילא חסב שוקי וסוקי נחוה
8 ויכתין באעלאה מ יצחק בן ר עבדיה וצדיקנא צאחב אל
9 שרטה אבן עזור ואבו אברהים בן שבת ומ יצחק בן קרשאנת
10 וסאיר אלאבואן תם עלי מולאי מעאדא
11 ورحمة الله تعلى وبركته

Margin:

וכתבת עלי חפז שדיד פעדרני אלי פצל מולאי

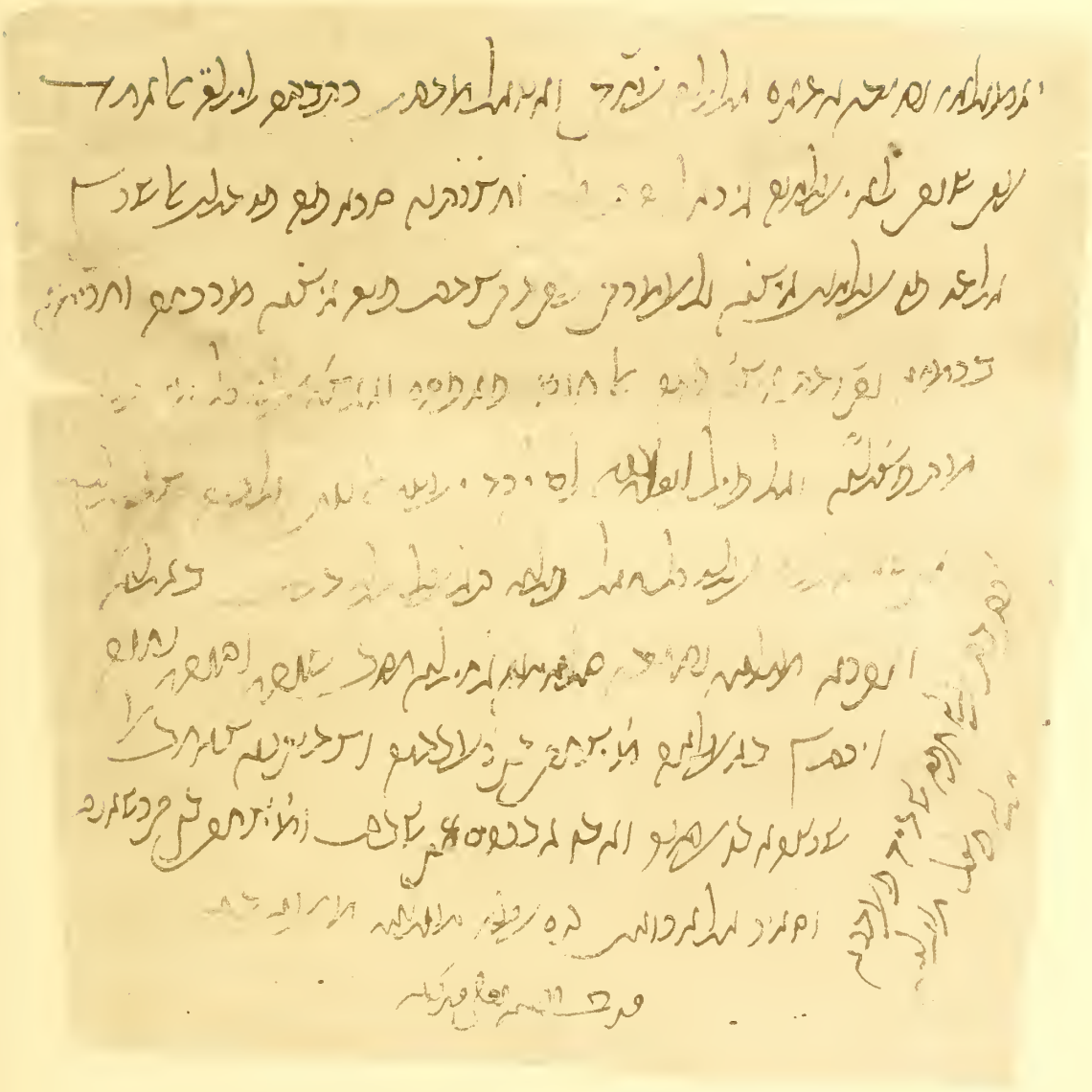
Verso:

אלחכם אלאגל אלריים אלאכמל רב חלפון הלוי נרו

---

[1] "Letters in a similar script I have come across in Bodleian MS. Heb. c. 28; 51 r. (addressed to a certain Abū Sa'īd); in Bodleian MS. Heb. d. 66, No. 80, as well as in a letter belonging to the collection of the Paris Consistoire (No. VII, E. 24)—which the Grand Rabbin M. Israel Lévi was kind enough to send to me—sent by a certain Ḥayyim Ibn Hānī of Ispahan. Evidently, the last had made use of a Maghribī scribe while, probably, in Morocco." (Professor Gottheil.)

[2] I.e. "you." "I do not wish to bias you."



Genizah Fragment 21

XXI. LETTER

A polite and elegant letter from an unnamed person to the ra'īs, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, who may be one of those mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 232, 237; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 730, 733.

Recto:

1 O my Lord and Master! May God continue your strength and lengthen your life! I have written [this] on Saturday night
2 with the wish [that] none but God Most High should instruct him[2]. Well, we have suffered a loss[3] in this individual.
3 as you also know. For, by your life, you also sought in him a support, and a wise man
4 among [the] wise[4]. And you also sought in him.....But understand, and close your eyes to all that you see,
5 if you will be so kind[5]. And the elephant—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors; but he will reach you,
6 if it please God, in any case[6]. So give no thought to that matter.
7 And I greet my Lord and Master becomingly, according to my desire and my inclination toward him.
8 And this applies in the highest degree to Master Isaac, son of Rabbi Obadiah, and our friend, the Chief of the
9 Police, Ibn 'Azūr (?), and Abū Abraham Ibn Shbt, and Master Isaac Ḳrshānt,
10 and the rest of the brethren. Then [greetings] to my Master once more,
11 and the Mercy of God Most High, and His Blessing!

Margin:

And I have written in great haste[7], so excuse me to his Excellency, my Master.

Verso:

[To] the Most Glorious Judge, the Most Perfect Chief, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī.

---

[3] حَضَرَتْنَا سَخَافَةٌ. [4] حَكِيمًا بِرُمَزَاءَ.

[5] مُتَفَضِّلًا.

[6] Quite plainly written. Is this a reference to some person? Cf. p. 18, note 1.

[7] I.e. حَفْد.

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, like those of III, XII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, all very difficult to read because of the levelling of many letters to the same form. The writer relied upon muscular sensation, more than upon sight. When the connection is lost reliable translation becomes impossible.

Recto :

1 תקדם כתאבי אליך יאבי ואלעזיז אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם תאידך
2 ונעמתך ואעלמתך פיה חאל בוציר וגמהא ותעבהא ואנה
3 בלד אן כתיר אלשגב ואלתעב ולי חלפת לך אני מן יום אן וצלת
4 מן הבית לא ליל ולא נהאר לכתב צאדק וקד אסתכדת אל . . . .
5 ואנפדת לך עדל כתאן פי עטארי אליאזור מכתוב [עליה]
6 יצחק בן כלף ולים עליך פיה כרי אקבצה ווגהת [אליך]
7 עדלין מכתוב עליה חסון אבן יצחק ועטא בן יעקוב
8 וקד סאלת סידי אבי אלחסן סלאמה פי דפועהא מעהם ואחדארהא
9 אלי אסכנדריה פי גמלתהם תתפצל תקף מעהם ותעאונהם
10 פי דלך ועדל פי גמלתי מכתוב עליה נסים בן בנאיה נחת . . . . . .
11 פי גמלתי ולם יבקא עלי פי אלגמיע אגרה אעלמך בדלך
12 וקד סאלתך פי אכר חסאבי פי אלזית ותדפע אלתמן אלי
13 אבן אל רקי ארגו אנך פעלת דלך תבלג סידי אבי אלפצל אבן
14 עמראם אלסלם ותקול לה לם באללה אשתרי פי בוציר
15 לרוחי סוא ג אעדאל כתאן לאן אלבלד פיה אלג[יראן ת]קול

---

[1] تَأَيَّدَكَ.

[2] Cf. Yāḳūt, *sub voce* بُوصِير, vol. i, p. 760, who says it is the name of four towns in Egypt: (1) near Eshmunēn, (2) near Gīzeh, (3) in the Fayyūm, (4) near Samanūd. It might be Taposiris Magna, near Alexandria, now called Abūṣīr.

[3] غَمَّها. The reference is possibly to persecution of Jews.

[4] أَنْ used as a relative with indefinite antecedent, as in No. IX, *recto*, l. 11; *verso*, l. 35; bottom of *verso*, l. 3.

[5] אן here is أَنْ in the sense of German "da": "Seit dem Tage da ich..."

[6] בית המקדש.

Genizah Fragment 22

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

A letter from Ḥasan (or Ḥassūn) Ibn Isaac to his "brother and friend," Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses, dealing in flax or linen.

The Jews are having trouble in Būṣīr where flax from France(?) is sold. Directions are given about various business operations.

On the *verso* are notes in two other hands about bales of flax or linen. They may not refer to the contents of the *recto*.

Recto:

1 My letter goes to you, dear Brother. May God prolong your existence
and lengthen your safety[1]
2 and well-being! I [beg to] inform you in it of the condition of Būṣīr[2] and
its pain[3] and travail; and that it is
3 a city[4] of great trouble and travail. And as for me: I swear to you that
I, from the day when[5] I arrived
4 from Jerusalem[6], neither night nor day [have had opportunity] to write[7].
[What I say is] true! And I secured the.....
5 and I sent to you a bale[8] of flax with 'Aṭṭārī[9] al-Yāzūrī, on which was
written:
6 "Isaac Ibn Khalf." You have no charges to pay in the matter. Accept
it. And I sent [you]
7 two bales on which was written: "Ḥassūn Ibn Isaac" and "'Aṭā' Ibn
Jacob" [respectively].
8 And I asked Abū al-Ḥasan Salāmah to deliver[10] them[11] with them[12], and
to bring them[11]
9 to Alexandria in their shipment[13]. Please show them [every] attention
and help them[12]
10 in this [matter]. And [I sent you] a bale in my shipment[13] on which was
written: "Nissīm Ibn Banāyah".....
11 in my shipment[13]. And there remain no charges against me for any of it.
Of this I inform you [explicitly].
12 And I asked you in the latter part of my accounting concerning the oil,
[to] pay the price [of it] to
13 Ibn al-Raḳḳī. I hope you have done this. Convey [to] Abū al-Faḍl Ibn
14 'Umrān [my] greetings; and say to him: "By Allah, I shall not buy in
Būṣīr
15 for myself [anything] but three bales[8] of flax. Because the neighbors[14]
in the city say(?)

---

[7] لِكَتْبٍ. [8] أَعْدَال – عَدْل.

[9] Or "my grocer." [10] דפועהא for דפעהא.

[11] I.e. the bales. [12] I.e. the addressees in person.

[13] جُمْلَة. [14] I.e. "gentiles"?

16 פיה כודו כתאן אלפרנסאוי וכתאן כאמל ולים פי אלבלד כתאן
17 נשתריה פתוכד עליה לולא יוחל וייגי אלי הון פינדם כתיר
18 וקררת דנאנירי מע אבי אלחגאג כתב תבלגה סלאמי
19 ותעלמה בדלך וקד כאן לה האניק פי קעדרן פאן פי
20 אלבלד .לאתאן חסנה וקד תמת
21 אלכל ירבבנא פיהא סאלמין

Margin:

תעלמה | בגמיע | דלך | ויחדר | אן | יתחרך | פי | האדא | לא | פי | אלניל |
| בעלמי | מעה | ונחצל | לה | קדרת | כתאן | ידכרנא | פיהא | אלי | . . . . . |
פתגעלה | יחאסבני | אלי | חין | וצולו | ונחדר | גמיע | אן | שא | אללה

Address on verso:

לאכי ואלעזיז עליי אבי יוסף מלול בן מן צחבה חסן
מוסי אבן יצחק נע
אטאל [אללה בקאה] ואן[דאם תאיידה
ונעמתה]

Notes on verso:

ברהון הל עדל מ ברסם יוסף
ברהון מ עדל מ ברסמה
ברהון הל
ברהון הם ברהון הכ
ברהון הם ברהון הל
ברהון צ
ברהון מ

Note at left:

גמלה מא עלי חגאג
סת אלאף תתקצ

---

15 פרנסאוי is فَرَنْسَاوِىّ from فَرَنْسَا. Cf. פרנצא in Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5544, fol. 1, line 4. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 191.

16 فَتُؤْخَذُ عَلَيْهِ لَوْلَا يُحَلُّ.

17 כתב for אכתב.

18 The reference is possibly again to persecutions.

16 about it: "Take the flax of France[15], and perfect(?) flax [it is]." But there is no flax in the city that
17 we would buy. And you are blamed for it unnecessarily[16]. And one comes [back] here and is very sorry.
18 And I have come to a definite agreement with Abū al-Ḥajjāj [about] my dīnārs. Write[17] and convey to him my greetings,
19 and inform him of this. For he has had.....in.....were in
20 the city beautiful..... But all of it has come to an end. May [God] complete our benefit thereby in safety[18].

Margin:

[19]Tell him all about this. And let him guard against being excited by this; not about the indigo.....with it. And we shall recover for him a quantity of linen about which he told us.....and have him settle with me when he arrives; and we shall.....all, if it please God.

Address on verso:

To my Brother and Friend [more powerful][20] than I, Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses. May [God] prolong [his existence] and lengthen [his safety and prosperity!] From his friend Ḥasan(?) Ibn Isaac.

Notes on verso:

Brhōn[21]	35	Bale	40 with address of Joseph
Brhōn	40	Bale	40 with his address
		Brhōn	35
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	25
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	35
Brhōn	90		
Brhōn	40		

Note at left:

Total of what Ḥajjāj owes:
six thousand 990

---

[19] Most uncertain. [20] A pun on the word عَزِيز.

[21] We do not know the vocalization of this nor its meaning. The same word occurs as a proper name twice in No. XII, lines 22 and 24. In the present case it might be بِرْهُون, "by pledges." Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*. Nor do we know the meaning of the letters הכּ, הל, המ, for which of course much might be imagined. Are they numerals with the order reversed?

XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

Paper $18\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A strip of paper cut from a letter, upon which some ḥazzān or other person has written in a large cursive hand, as if for posting on the wall, what seems to be the first word or the first two words of certain prayers and pizmōnīm.

A peculiarity of the script is the different ways in which the letter א is written. Cf. lines 1 and 2 with lines 3 and 8.

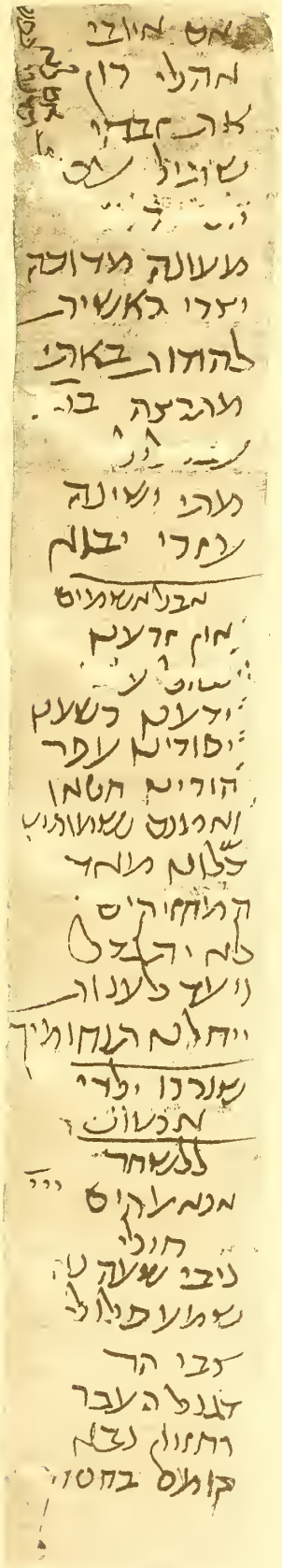
Recto :

1 אם אויבי
2 אהלי רון
3 את זבחי
4 שתיל עם [א]ל
5 . . . . . ר . .
6 מעונה מדוכה
7 יצרי ראשית
8 לה חוג באתי
9 מתרצה בת
10 עבד ליל (??)
11 מתי ישינה
12 עזרי יבוא

---

13 אבל אשמים
14 און זרענו
15 * . . ול על . .[1]
16 * ידענו רשענו
17 * יסודינו עפר
18 * הורינו חטאו
19 * ואמנם נשמותינו
20 בלונו[2] מאד

[1] The dots at the beginning of this line and of the following ones are in the MS.



XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

The *verso*, in Arabic, in a very different, blacker, smaller, more regular, Hebrew hand, represents the older document from which this strip was torn before the *recto* was written upon it.

Recto:

1 If mine adversary.

2 Tents of rejoicing.

3 My sacrifice.

4 Planted with ....

Margin:

If thou (fem.) knowest not .....

5 .....

6 Dwelling, seat.

7 First my being.

8 She hath a horizon .....

9 Gracious is the daughter [of].

10 He hath made night (?).

11 When ....

12 My help cometh.

---

13 The grief of guilt.

14 The vanity of our seed.

15 .....

16 Our wickedness knoweth us.

17 We are covered with dust.

18 His sin hath cast us.

19 And certainly our waste places.

20 They have consumed us greatly.

---

[2] Between ב and ל there seems to be the Arabic sign *tashdīd*.

21 המחזיקים
22 לא יתגדל
23 ויעד לענות
24 יחלנו תנחומיך

---

25 שוררו ילדי
26 אמוני

---

27 ללשחר
28 אנא אלהים יי
29 חולי
30 ניבי שעה נא
31 שמע פלולי
32 צבי הר
33 דגול העבר
34 וחזיון נבא
35 קומם בחסדך

Verso :

1 חתי רחמה אל כאלק . . . . . .
2 טביב אלסלטאן ואכ . . . . . .
3 תמן מאיה דרהם . . . . . .
4 ואלף פחצר אלמאל . . . . . .
5 יכרג אל בנת יביעה . . . . . .
6 כתאב יקצוד בה . . . . . .
7 בשהאדת גמיע אשיאך חלב . . . . . .
8 פלמא וצל ענד אל . . . . . .
9 אלרדאדין אלדי לסל[טאן] . . . . . .
10 יזכונה נפצו אל ר[דאדין] . . . . . .
11 אלדי פיה אלדואב . . . . . .
12 וראחו וכד וצל אל . . . . . .

---

[3] Or "For the Morning Service." In the following we have, perhaps, the remnants of a verse :

אנא אלהים יי חולי
ניבי שעה נא שמע פלולי

21 Those that strengthen.

22 Let him not inflate himself.

23 And he knew the bitterness.

24 Thy consolations hearten us.

---

25 .... my children.

26 My faithful one (?).

---

27 For the morning[3].

28 I am the Lord God.

29 . . . . . .

30 Attend to the fruit [of my lips].

31 Hear my prayer.

32 The glory of the mountain of.

33 Excellent is the.....

34 And prophecy of a vision.

35 Establish in Thy favor.

Verso:

1 till the Creator has mercy on him ....

2 the physician of the Sultan, and ....

3 value of a hundred dirhams ....

4 and a thousand, then produce the property .....

5 he goes to the girl to sell it .....

6 a writing in which he purposes .....

7 in testimony[4] all[5] the sheikhs of Aleppo .....

8 and after he arrived in the presence of the ....

9 the bone-setters who wait upon the Sul[tan] ....

10 the bone-setters(?) diagnosed his trembling ....

11 in which the animals(?) were ....

12 and they went away. And the .... had already arrived .....

---

[4] Line inserted in the original.

[5] Two dots over the ٮ seem to stand for *fatḥatain*.

13 אלאוחד[6] סתין דר[ם] . . . . . .
14 אלי[7] אלכאלק ואלי . . . . . .
15 אלהקהלות[8] ואנחנ[ו] . . . . . .
16 לפה ולמ̇לי̇ין ר . . . . . .
17 בשם .... כוח . . . . . .
18 וכסיתו ומבשרך [לא תתעלם] . . . . . .
19 תפתח ידך לו . . . . . .
20 רקם כי הוא ע . . . . . .
21 ושני בנ[י]ו ושת[י בנותיו] . . . . . .
22 ידל לעדי עד ולנ[צח נצחים] . . . . . .
23 וכן [יהי רצון] . . . . . .
24 וקד כאן פי כתאבה . . . . . .
25 קאהר ושמעה אל . . . . . .
26 ואל נפים אבן אל ס[לטאן] . . . . . .
27 וכול עלא אבן אל [סלטאן] . . . . . .
28 אבן עליק ובסו . . . . . .
29 אל צנאר אלדי מעה . . . . . .
30 מעה ואעמלן ומע צנארה . . . . . .
31 אל חסנה ושלום על . . . . . .

---

[6] אלאוחד mistake for אלוּאחד.

[7] Two letters follow which have been crossed out.

13 sixty dirhams apiece....

14 unto the Creator and the....

15 the congregations. But we.....

16 wrapped him up. And.....

17 in the name..... might...[9]

18 and cover him; and hide not thyself from thine own flesh[10].

19 Thou wilt open Thy hand unto him.

20 their spittle, for he.....

21 and two of his sons and two of his daughters....

22 he shall be weak for ever and ever.....

23 and this was the purpose [of the writing?]....

24 and there was in his letter.....

25 conqueror. And the.....heard him.....

26 and the excellent son of the S[ultan?].....

27 and every disease of the son of the [Sultan?].....

28 Ibn 'Ulaik, and.....

29 the little..... which with him

30 and they employed with him and with his little ones....

31 the good. And Peace be upon.....

---

[8] Note the Arabic and the Hebrew articles.

[9] Lines 17–23 are in Hebrew.

[10] Isaiah lviii, 7.

XXIV. CHARM

A strip of paper $15\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

It is written in cursive Hebrew characters, and contains part of a charm against all manner of diseases and distempers.

1 . . . . ודחלולי ליליא ונוסיא ואשתא וערויתא ועיק רע וקלא ומרס מעיא
ושאלביטא ושוכבא . . . .

2 . . . . ילי סיט עלם מהש ללה אבא כהת הזי אלד לאו ההע יזל מבר
הרי הקם לאו כלי לוו פהל נלך ייי מלה תהו נתה האא ירת שאה
ריי א . . .

3 . . . . . [יהו]ה צלך על יד ימינך יומם השמש לא יככה ויריח בלילה יהוה
ישמרך מכל רע ישמור את נפשך יהוה ישמר צתך ובאיך מעתה ועד
[עולם] . . .

4 . . . [י]היה עמי בעגול בשם האל האדיר האמיץ הבורא הגבור הדובר משרים
ההוד הותיק הזך הטהור היחיד הקדוש ועד אני קורא את שמות מל[אכי]

---

[1] Ink border-lines show that the strip was never any wider. The letters ודחלולי began the first line, which is written in characters small and cramped, though hardly as an afterthought to the remaining lines.

[2] I.e. "spectres."

[3] The form נוסיא remains unexplained, but the word is related perhaps to Aramaic נְסָם, which has been connected with Greek *νόσος*.

[4] Cf. the Syriac ܒܣܝܐ.

[5] עֵיק רַע, but this would be mixed Hebrew and Aramaic.

[6] I.e. "incantations." Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[7] Cf. Targum to Levit. xxi, 20.

[8] שאלביטא can hardly be a corruption of שַׁלְהֶבְיתָא "flame," although it might possibly be a similar formation from the root לבט.

XXIV. CHARM

The literature on Jewish magic is extensive. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898; Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors*, London, 1898; Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913.

1 [1]and scare-crows of the night[2], and afflictions[3], and fever, and ague[4], and fear of evil[5], and the voice[6], and crushing of the viscera[7], and . . . . . [8], and the Succuba[9] . . . . . .

2 . . . . . [10]

3 [Jehov]ah is thy shade upon thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night[11]. Jehovah will keep thee from all evil. He will keep thy soul. Jehovah will keep thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth and for [evermore[12]] . . . . . .

4 [shall] be with me in a circle[13]. In the name of God, the Mighty, the Powerful, the Creator, the Heroic, that speaketh righteousness, the Glory, the Able, the Pure, the Spotless, the Unique, the Holy! And also I shall recite the names of the an[gels] . . . . . .

---

[9] שוכבא may be connected with the root שכב "to lie" (sexually, of demons: cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 304). It seems actually to spell out the Latin word *succuba*, except that we should then have a ם, not a שׁ. At any rate, we fancy that this word is very close to the intended meaning. Amulets not uncommonly contain allusions to the *incubus-succuba* superstition.

[10] Here follow the Cabbalistic names which are untranslatable. They are derived from Exodus xiv, 19–21, in such manner that the first letter of each name comes from verse 19, the middle letter from verse 20, the last letter from verse 21. The following names complete the 72: לכב ושר יחו להח בוק מנד אני העם רהע ייז ההה מיך יול ילה סאל ערי עשל מיה והו דני החש עמם ננא ניתּ מבה פדי נמס ייל הרח מצר ומב יהה ענו מחי רמב מנק איע חבו ראה יבם היי מום. (So explained by M. Chapira to Professor Gottheil.)

[11] Cf. Worrell, "The Demon of Noonday," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1918, xxxviii, 160 ff.

[12] Psalm cxxi, 5–8.

[13] A magic circle. Cf. Worrell, "Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt," in the same *Journal*, 1916, xxxvi, 37 ff., particularly p. 52.

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

Paper about 13 × $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, tapering towards the top.

Hebrew and Arabic, in cursive Hebrew characters.

This fragment is perfectly described in the introduction to our No. XXIII. It is a strip, cut from the same letter and used in the same manner.

But unfortunately it is not a part of the same leaf as No. XXIII; so that comparison gives us no help with the mutilated *verso*, nor with the sketchy *recto*.

Recto:

1 . . . . . ם
2 ———
3 . . . . . ם תש .
4 ה . . . צועק
5 חסין יה
———
6 מה לך בן אדם
———
7 שובו נה
8 איך תמן
9 ב . . . . . אדמה
10 רצו ילדי
11 הלכו גודר
12 מות פין סהד
13 בבית סהד
14 מך בעלה
15 עֵרום בא
16 זוריע שוא
17 רוח איש בלבו
18 היכלי עונג
19 חוק נתן לבי
20 זה סוף כל האדם
21 קדוש כבוד שם
———
22 אל חי בכל

לשמעכם

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

As we do not pretend to know what either text is about, we confine ourselves to rendering a few groups of words here and there.

The *recto* and the *verso* to line 18 seem to refer to religious matters. From line 19 of the *verso* the subject is business, and the language is Arabic.

Recto:

1 .....

2 _____

3 .....

4 .....crying out

5 Strong . . . . .

---

6 What aileth thee, son of man?

---

7 Return ye.

8 As there.

9 .....the ground

10 Consent, my children.

11 They have gone, carpenter.

12 Death...testimony(?)

13 In the house of testimony(?)

14 .....mistress.

15 Naked he came.

16 The sower of iniquity.

17 The spirit of a man in his heart.

18 My temple is delight.

19 My heart gave a law.

20 This is the end of all mankind.

21 The Holy One has settled honor.

---

22 The living God in all.

23 מתי רוחות . ל
24 על רוב מעלי

Verso :

1 ש . . . . . .
2 עוטי מ . . . . . .
3 מתנים חגו
4 בה . נע דלת . . . מבקש[ים]
5 יודעים לצדקה קו[ו] . . . . . .
6 הרבים מוציאי יק[רי] . . . . .
7 לוי מטע אלי להתפאר . . . . .
8 נחלתו צאן יד . . . . . .
9 הנרדפים . . . . . ם . . . . .
10 בכל מקומות מושב[ותיהם]
11 שיקום מכסא דין ויש . . . . .
12 ולאסוף הנדחים ולש . . . . . .
13 ולהציל בלועים משי . . . . . .
14 . . ח . . תו . . תיות להוצ[יא] . .
15 ובין החול לקבין הנ . . . . . .
16 הרחוקים כדכ ונשא נף . . . .
17 להודיע לרבותינו המ[קומות]
18 מקומות מושבותיהם
19 . . . . ב אלדי אסמה מנ[חם] . .
20 והוא מחושבי העיר . . . . . .
21 וא . . ק או . . . . . ן מן . . . .
22 פי נהדת גוז ודכאן . . . . . .
23 ג סנין מעה גאזי . . . . . .
24 וחאסבה אלדיואן וג . . . . . .
25 דרהם נאצריא וקד . . . . . .
26 לה ולצנארה ואלדי . . . . . .
27 לם יבקא מעה פלם . . . . . .
28 . . . . ן עליה תמן מאי . . . . . .
29 עלי אלפצלא סת א . . . . .

---

[1] כדכתיב = כדכ.

[2] Ezek. xvii, 23.

23 When will the spirits.....

24 For the multitude of my deeds

Vertical: And when I do.

Verso:

1 .....

2 .....

3 gifts.....

4 .....door...seekers.....

5 those knowing righteousness, hoping for.....

6 the great ones, producers of —, dignitaries of —.....

7 O, that I had a couch, to glorify myself.....

8 his inheritance the sheep of.....

9 the persecuted ones.....

10 in all the places where they dwell.....

11 that he arise from the chair of judgment, and.....

12 and to gather the repudiated ones and.....

13 and to deliver, those swallowed up.....

14 .....to bring out

15 and between the sand, to collect the.....

16 those that are far away, even as it is written[1]: "and it shall bring forth boughs[2]."

17 To make known to our teachers the places(?).....

18 their places of residence.....

19 about him whose name is M[enahem].....

20 and he is one of the honored men of[3] the city.....

21 .....

22 in.....and shop...

23 3 years with him.....

24 and the tribunal called him to account, and

25 and 17 Nāsiri[4] dirhams.....And already.....

26 to him and to his little ones and that which...

27 did not remain with him. And not.....

28 .....he owed the price of a hund[red].....

29 to the most excellent Sitt.....

[3] For חישובי. [4] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 679.

XXVI. LETTER

An irregularly shaped strip of paper, tapering a little towards the top, about $8\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic, in half-square Hebrew characters.

The script is bad, and the language used is not literary. There are several mistakes in spelling.

Recto :

1 בשרה . . . . לל . . . . .
2 ימר יסנ . . . . . וג . . אללה תעאלא
3 לא יכליני מנ נצר אלולד
4 אלמבארך ריבי משה ואן
5 יגמע אלשמל קריב ברזק
6 ועאפיה אמין וכן יהי
7 רצן : ואן מן פצל אללה
8 ומא ענדנא מן חסן
9 אלגמיל אן אלשיך אבו
10 אלחסן פי חאל אלסלאמה
11 ואלעאפיה מן פצל אללה
12 יתברך שמו ולא תשגל
13 קלבך והו טלב אן יכתב
14 לך אלכתאב בידה ואמא
15 כשיתאן אן יפתכר
16 פי וצעף ולא תשגל
17 קלבך מן גהת הבתה
18 והו פי עאפיה בכל
19 נעמה והו ביסקי נפסה

---

[1] يُخَلِّينِى.

[2] The text is perfectly plain here. Perhaps "progeny."

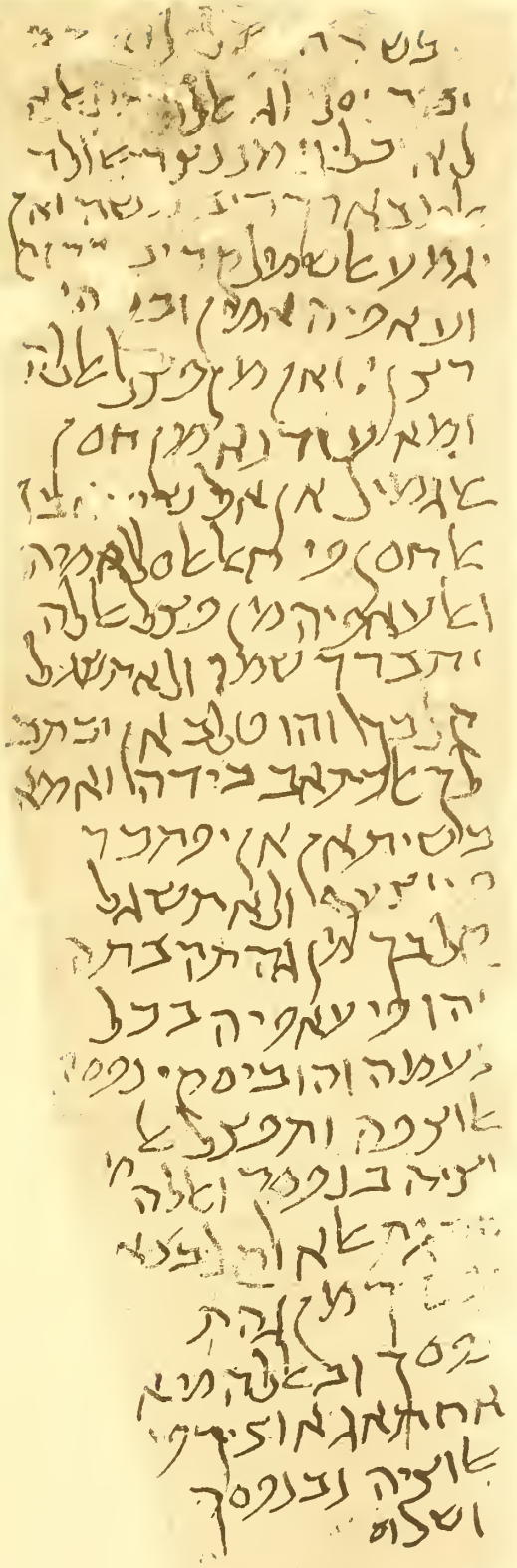
[3] Must refer to the preceding word "boy" or "child" rather than to the following "Rabbi Moses." [4] "Rabbi."

[5] We should have عن قريب in either literary or colloquial Arabic.

[6] "grace."

[7] This phrase is in Hebrew.

[8] "busy."



XXVI. LETTER

It is a letter written to a certain Rabbi Moses in the name of an old man, Abū al-Ḥasan.

There is no information in it. It is purely "une lettre de politesse."

Recto :

1 good news (?).....

2 .....God the Exalted

3 will not deprive me[1] of the help of the boy[2],

4 the blessed[3] Ribbi[4] Moses, and that

5 he order his affairs soon[5] with prosperity

6 and health[6]. Amen! Thus be

7 the will [of God][7]! And that by the grace of God

8 and whatever we have in the way of beauty of

9 behaviour[6]. Verily the Sheikh Abū

10 al-Ḥasan is in a condition of prosperity

11 and health, by the grace of God,

12 blessed be His Name[7]! So do not trouble[8]

13 your heart. He[9] sought[10] to write

14 to you the letter with his [own] hand, but

15 like a devil[11] he [only?] thought

16 about it[12]; and he did not do it. But do not trouble[8]

17 your heart about his gift

18 since he is in good health[6], in all

19 well-being, and he is treating himself[13]

---

[9] I.e. the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan.

[10] The use of طلب in this sense is most unusual. We should expect قصد or اراد.

[11] Probably a forgotten twelfth century vulgarism. A شيطان now-a-days in Egypt is a "clever fellow," full of tricks. In the text we have ת instead of ט.

[12] פי the vulgar *fī* or *fih* for *fīhi*.

[13] ביסקי has the *bi-* prefix of the present tense imperfect in vulgar Arabic. Cf. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 193, 203. أسقى is used in three ways: (1) Of filling a cup with wine, or other drink. (2) Of watering cattle. (3) Of irrigating the soil. I think we might translate "is watering himself," "is soaking himself." Abū al-Ḥasan is taking a lot of this medicine, or he is enjoying it, or both, if we are not mistaken.

20 אלוצפה ותפצל אל
21 וציה בנפסך ואללה מ(א)
22 [א]חתנת אלא לקלבכא
23 . . . ך . . מן גהת
24 נפשך ובאללה מא
25 אחתאג אוציך פי
26 אלוציה ובנפסך
27 ושלום

Verso:

1 אלכת[אב] אלאכר
2 אבוך אלשיך אבי
3 אלחסן יכתבה הו
4 . . . . . אללה יצלחם
5 . . . . . לך . . . . אלמום
6 ואלמסי צחבי וחמלו
7 אלכת[א]ב

---

14 وَصْفَة is the regular term for a prescription.

15 אל for *'al* for على آل as in modern vulgar Arabic.

to the prescription[14]. And pray [attend] to[15]
the order in your own person. By Allah! Not
have I needed [to do any more] than to.....
.....on account of
yourself[16], and, by Allah, not
do I need to direct you in regard to
the commission and yourself.
Greeting!

Verso:

The other letter.
Your father, the Sheikh Abū[17]
al-Ḥasan will write, he
.....God restore them!
.....to you.....the.....
and the..... is my master (?) and they carried
the letter.

---

[16] יש here instead of ס. The writer has Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ in mind.

[17] אבי for ابو. Uneducated people, in attempting to be correct, change the vulgar ابو to ابى even where it is not needed.

XXVII. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, water-marked with a mailed torso.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

A letter from Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī, in Jerusalem, to Abū Yaḥyā Nurāi Ibn Nissīm, in Fusṭāṭ (Cairo). It is a prolix epistle, taking up the margins as well as the body of the page and a half upon which it is written.

Abū Zubair is a man of poor health, narrow life, and many troubles. His family was originally from Morocco or some one of the other Barbary States. He writes Arabic, in Hebrew letters—as Jews have done with many languages—but in such a manner as to betray his familiarity with the Arabic script and orthography. His language is no doubt the slightly

---

Recto :

1 וצל כתאב מולאי אלשיך אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם סלאמתה וסעאדתה
אמס

2 יומי הדא [ו]הו ו איאם בקין מן אלול אעאד אללה עליה הדה אל מוֹעֲדִים
אלמקבלה

3 סנין טאילה וגעלהא עליה מימונה מבארכה בקבול אלתורה ואל מ[צו]ה
ואשהדנא

4 לה בנִים זכרִים לחַיִּים וכאן וצולה בעד אשתיאק ענייִם ווקפֻת מנה עלי
מא אמרֻנני

5 ואקלקני ואפגעני מן אלגזירה אלכבירה ואלפגעה אלעטִימה אלתי הדת
קואנא מן

6 ופאה אלסייד אלפאצל עטרת ראשינו ברוך דיין האמת שׁוֹפט בצדק
ואמת וכאן

7 הדא אלסבת ענדי וענד אהלי מתל סבת תשעה באב ומא וגדנא עזא
לקלובנא

8 גיר אנה אלויל לנא נחן אלדי עשנא להדה אלמצאיב ונשרבו הדה
אלאכואס

9 אל מרה וקד עמית אבצארנא ואנקטעת קואנא ונחן באכיין עליה טול
חיאתנא

---

[1] אמן סלה=אמס?

[2] טאילה for طَوِيلة.

[3] גזירה is Hebrew.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 27 b

XXVII. LETTER

classicised vernacular of his own day. It already exhibits many of the peculiarities of the spoken Arabic of modern Cairo. The difficult passages are no doubt in the slang of his time. Other peculiarities, such as the occasional omission of the article, the redundant "it," the strange use of עלי and other prepositions, and of common verbs, are not so easily explained. He is especially prone to mix forms and turns of expression while putting them on paper.

Unfortunately the letter bears no date. It was written, however, before 1050–1098, when the addressee died.

Below the address there is a line of Arabic script which cannot be made out.

Recto:

1 The letter of my Lord the Sheikh has come. May God lengthen his existence and prolong his health and his happiness! Amen! Selah[1]!

2 Today—and there are six days remaining of Elul—May God add unto him these feast-days that are to come

3 for many[2] years! And may He make them for him fortunate and blessed in the acceptance of the Law and the Commandment! And we wish

4 for him [that he shall have] living male offspring! The arrival [of the letter] occurred after [we] poor ones had yearned for it, and had been deprived of it by delay, in addition to my having been made ill

5 and uneasy and sad by the great calamity[3] and the heavy affliction which has crushed our strength[4]: namely the

6 death of the excellent master[5], the Crown of our Head. Blessed be the honest judge who judges in righteousness and truth! This

7 Sabbath Day has been, with me and with my people, like the Sabbath Day falling upon the Ninth of Ab[6]; and we have not found any strength for our spirits.

8 [We are conscious of nothing] save that we are victims of calamity, we who have lived to [see] these misfortunes. And these bitter

9 cups[7] have been drained, and our sight has been blinded, and our strength cut off; and we shall continue to weep for him as long as we live.

---

[4] קואנא = قُوَانَا plural of قُوَّة with suffix.

[5] Identity not established.

[6] When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the First Temple, and when Titus destroyed the Last Temple, according to Jewish tradition.

[7] An unusual plural of كَأْس.

10 ולא עזא בעדה ווחק הדא אלקדם לקד מראר כתירה נתמנא אלמות
ונשתהיה וצרת

11 ממן קיל פיה המחכים למות ואינינו ויחפרוהו ממטמונים ממא אקאסיה
מן המום

12 הדה אלדניא וכתרה פגעאתהא ועטים מצאיבהא ומקאסאת אהלהא אלדי
אנקטעת

13 מנהם אלאמאנה ותבת פיהם אבדה האמונה ונכרתה מפיהם ומא בקי
אלא מן יאבד

14 מאלך באל יד ואנת תנטר מנה ואעגב כל עגיב אן אסחק חפטה אללה
בעד צברנא

15 עליה אל יום י׳ שהור מצא לקברי אבות ואשתרא קמח כשקאק כאנת
מעה ועניות

16 וולף קמח יצלה למחלה יסוי דינר ותלת אלקפיז וקלת אנא נאכדה מנך
בדינר וי׳

17 וקאל מא אביע ואדכל אל קמח לדארה ונחן וקוף הדא כאן אכר אלצבר
ומא יערף

18 לי מעה גיר הדא כל דרהם יוחל לי ענדה מא אאכדה אלא עלי אל שרור
משלמי

19 רעה תחת טובה אללה תעאלי יכאפי כל ואחד בנית׳ה וסאעת כתאבי
גרה הדא ופק

20 אללה קפיזין קמח מתל קרץ אלדנניר בג׳ דנניר ורבע ואנא ארצד איצא
שי אכר

21 פלא ישגל מולאי קלבה וקד חצלת להם אלחטב ואלזית וגמיע מא יחתאגו
אליה

---

[8] With only one ו.

[9] This quotation, Job iii, 21, is in Hebrew, as indicated by the overlining in the manuscript and in our text. All Hebrew words are thus marked.

[10] Jeremiah vii, 28.

[11] In the Arabic form.

[12] I.e. to pay a debt?

[13] "Graves of the Fathers" are probably Hebron, though we can not find any other instance of this title. At Hebron the "Fathers," Adam, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were supposed to be buried. The vicinity is fruitful, and one might have bought grain there perhaps. Cf. Baedeker, *Palästina u. Syrien*, 1910, pp. 105 ff.

[14] Or "grain" merely.

[15] شِقاق plural of شُقَّة "strips, shavings," etc.

10 There is no strength now that he is gone. By[8] this Jerusalem! Many
times we have desired death and longed for it. And I have become
11 one of those concerning whom it is said[9]: "Who long for death, but it
cometh not, and dig for it more than for hidden treasures," because of
what I endure in the way of cares of
12 this world and the multitude of its sorrows, and the might of its ca-
lamities, and the hard-heartedness of its people from whom sincerity
13 has been cut off. And concerning them [the saying][10] holds: "Truth is
perished, and is cut off from their mouth." And nothing remains now
but that someone should take
14 your property by force, while you look the other way. Most wonderful
of wonders! Isaac[11]—God keep him!—after we had waited
15 for him[12] these ten months, went off to Kibhrē Abhōth[13], and bought
wheat[14] in which was [something] like chaff (?)[15] and.....[16]
16 and collected[17] wheat[14] suitable for his place, worth a dīnār and a third
the ḳafīz. And I said: "We will take it off your hands for a dīnār
and 10 [carats the ḳafīz][18]."
17 But he said: "I am not selling." And he put the wheat into his house,
while we were standing by[19]. This was the extremity of [our] patience.
And nothing is known
18 to me about[20] him except this: Not a dirham which he owes[21] me and
has in his possession shall I take except [as] against the base "that
render
19 evil for good[22]." God—He is exalted!—requites every man according
to his intention! But the hour of this writing has elapsed[23]. May
20 God make suitable[24] two ḳafīz of grain as the equivalent of the return
of the dīnārs[25], at three dīnārs and a quarter[26]. But I am also looking
out for something else.
21 But let not my Lord worry. For they have received the fuel-wood, and
the olive oil and everything they need,

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[16] עניות Hebrew. It was very poor wheat?

[17] وَلَّفَ for أَلَّفَ. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, ii, p. 892.

[18] If the carat is one twenty-fourth of the dīnār (cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 195, n. 13), Isaac bought the grain at $1\frac{1}{3}$ dīnārs and was offered $1\frac{5}{12}$ dīnārs, or two carats more than the cost. They wished to shame him into paying them on the spot when he received the cash from them. The dīnār is, of course, at this time the large gold coin, and not the denarius.

[19] A confusion of mind as between ونحن واقفين and بوقوفنا.

[20] مع does not usually have this meaning.

[21] يُحِلّ. [22] Psalm xxxviii, 20.

[23] "My letter has become long enough." Then he makes it four times as long.

[24] وَفَّقَ.

[25] The modern *dánanīr* for دنانير. Cf. Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., pp. 8, 80, 81.

[26] I.e. for two ḳafīz, or 1.625 dīnārs the ḳafīz. He offered Isaac only $1\frac{5}{12}$ before.

22 מתל בצל ומלה וגיר דלך ואנא פארח בכל האגה תערין להם וקבצו מני
גיר דלך

23 ג דנניר עיון למהמאתהם ומא יעוזהם מעי האגה ופי אכתר אלאוקאת
אמצי אלי אל

24 דאר ואסאלהם לעל האגה וקד כאן אקאמו פי אל דאר אלתי נזלו פיהא
אול וצולהם

25 שהר כאמל מע אם אבו יוסף ומע אל שיך אל שראבי אלתי תזוג אבנה
בנת אלבלוטי

26 וכאנו עלי אנהם יכתריו דאר בגואר אל כניסיה לאנסאן מסלם בה דנניר
סנה כאמלה

27 ויקבצהא קבול אל דכול פלמא חצרנא אל ה דנניר קאל סתה דנניר מא
נחט שי צעב

28 עליי אלאמר פלמא אגבנא אלי אל סתה טלב יגיב עלילות מן וגוה אכר
תרכנאהא

29 ואכתרינא חגירה לאמראה יהודיה בדינרין אלי אלמחרם ה שהור והי
חגרה בגואר

30 אצחאבנא פיהא גמיע חואיגהא ואל חמאם בגואהא פי האהא אל יהוד
קריבה מן אל

31 כניסיה ואל רבאעייה מא אקוא אצף מא עמלתה פי אמרהא ולם אתרך
תאגר ולא

32 צואף ולא בזאז עלי מן אערצהא ואנבאע מנהא לט רבעי אלוזן ה דנניר
ותמן

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27 حاجة "thing" is modern Egyptian colloquial. In l. 20 he has used the classical and Palestinian شى.

28 قبضوا "grabbed," but in the dialect of Cairo, "received." This is still Isaac's case, we take it.

29 مع. Cf. note 20.

30 The relative pronoun is feminine but the verb is masculine. The writer has both the mother of Abū Yūsuf and the Sheikh al-Sharābī in mind, but he means the latter.

31 יכתריו is colloquial, from كرى. The ' is merely a graphic reminiscence of the singular.

32 כניסיה here and in l. 31, not كنيسة but كَنِيسِيَّة (Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 493), the Spanish (15th century), Moroccan and Tunisian form of the same word. Is this the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? Perhaps we are to read كَنِيسِيَّة and understand the "Place of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."

33 "belonging to." 34 قبول for قَبْل.

such as onions, and salt and other things. And I am rejoiced at everything[27] that turns up for them. And they have received[28] from me in addition
three dīnārs cash for their pressing needs. And they do not need anything from[29] me. And at most times I go out to the
house and ask them whether [they] need [anything]. And they have remained in the house in which they stayed when they first arrived—
a full month—with the mother of Abū Yūsuf and with the Sheikh al-Sharābī who married[30] his son to the daughter of al-Ballūṭī.
And, although they had rented[31] a house in the vicinity of the Church[32], from[33] a Muslim man for five dīnārs for a whole year,
and he was to receive the money before[34] we took possession. But when we had brought the five dīnārs, he said: "Six dīnārs! We shan't make it less[35]." The matter was
hard for me[36]. And when we had agreed to the six, he sought[37] to bring[38] troubles from other directions. We dropped the matter.
And we hired a little room[39] of[33] a Jewish woman for two dīnārs until [the month of] al-Muḥarram—five months. And it is a room, in the neighbourhood
of our friends, in which are all things necessary to it. And the bath is in the neighbourhood of it in the Jewish Quarter, near to the
Church[32] and the Rubā'īyah[40]. I cannot describe[41] what I have done in regard to it. And I neglected no tradesman
nor wool-merchant, nor cloth-merchant—according to whoever offered [things] for sale[42]. And there were sold from it[43] 39 quarters[44] of a wazn[45] [for] eight dīnārs, and [the] price

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[35] מא נחט ישי is colloquial *ma naḥuṭṭshe* from classical مَا نَحُطُّ شَيْئًا "we shall not lower at all."

[36] עלּיי is عَلَيَّ. ى with ّ is regularly represented by יי.

[37] طلب in this sense is found in No. XXVI, *recto*, l. 13.

[38] יגיב colloquial root جاب from جاءَ and بِ.

[39] حُجَيْرَة diminutive of حُجْرَة. The writer has hired this for himself.

[40] The "fourfold" or "quadrilateral" place, but not "city square" to our knowledge. Perhaps this name was applied to the site of the Mediaeval lodgings and hospitals of the Knights of St John, which passed into the hands of the Moslems in 1187, and became known as the Mūristān. The room in question was probably in the block of buildings between the present Ḥārat Bab al-Silsileh, Ṭārīḳ Bab al-Silsileh and Sūḳ al-Laḥḥāmīn.

[41] אצף is أَصِف from وصف without the أَنْ as in modern vernacular. Cf. l. 40, and other instances.

[42] עלי מן אערצֿהא makes no sense. Perhaps it is a confusion between على ما أَعْرَضَها "according to what they offered for sale," and على مَنْ أَعْرَضَ "according to whoever presented himself." The writer of the letter is subject to these confusions.

[43] I.e. this room, which seems to have been used as a shop.

[44] רבעי is رُبْع with a connecting vowel.

[45] The wazn seems to be here a definite weight.

33 סער כ דרהם כל דינר מן צרף לו דרה ונץ מנהם קום דפעו לי רהן ומנהם
קום

34 דפעו אלבעץ ובקי ענדהם אלבעץ וקד לחקהא כצרה מן אל תחמיר אלתי
חמרת פי

35 מצר ווזנת עלי הדה אלבקייה אלתי תבקת דרהם ונצף למן עאודהא
באלתחמיר והי

36 באקיה ואנא אגתהד פי אמרהא פסבחאן מן אסקט נגמהא ואמא אל צרה
אלתי כאנת

37 ענדי קד טרח אללה פיהא אלמאדה ומא גמע אללה מנהא דינר עאמלת
מנהא באל בעץ

38 פי סבסתאן וצמג לוז וגאסול וקללות מא לא ימכנני ולא יתסע צדרי לדכרה
וכל מא

39 אכתב הדא אלכתאב אתנהד פלעל אל מות אקרב וקד סרני מא דכרה
מן וצול אל מראכב

40 סאלמה לצקליה ותופיקהא פי אלבצאיע ואנא ארגב למולאי יערפני אסמא
אל קום

41 אלואצלין פי מרכב אל אנדלס וכדלך כל מרכב יגי יערפני בגמיע אלאכבאר

Margin:

כאנני משאהד להא | ולעל יגיני כתאב מן צקליה או מן אי | מוצע כאן ואלי
אלאן מא וצל נגא אלגלאם | אללה יכתב עליה אלסלאמה · וכאן וצל אליי
כתאב מולאי אל | שיך מנד מדה ידכר אנה קבץ אלכראריס אלתי כאנת
לי ענד ר | ישועה חרסה אללה ווצל מנהא לר ישראל כראסתין | אלתי
פיהא אצול אלדקדוק לינסכהא למולאי פלמא כתבת | לה חרסה אללה

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46 The writer sold 39 quarter wazns for 8 dīnārs, or 292 dirhams, which was at the rate of $7\frac{19}{39}$ dirhams the quarter, or $29\frac{37}{39}$ dirhams the wazn. After he had sold out at about 30 dirhams, the price sank to 20 dirhams the wazn.

47 The vernacular *nuṣṣ* for نِصْف.

48 خُضْرَة "greenness."

49 תחמיר, تَخْمِير and חמרת, خُمِّرَتْ have ח for خ which is very unusual and must point to a dialectic peculiarity.

50 תבקת, confusion between تَبْقِى and بَقِيَتْ (vernacular *baḳat*).

33 became 20 dirhams[46], every dīnār being by exchange 36 dirhams and a half[47]. And of the [buyers] some people paid me [with] a note, and of them some people

34 paid a part, and a part remained with them [unpaid for]. And mouldiness[48] had attacked it in consequence of the fermentation[49] which had developed in

35 Egypt. And I weighed out, in addition to this remainder which remained[50] [in their possession, unpaid for], a dirham and a half to such as brought it back[51] in a fermented condition, while it

36 remained [in their possession, unpaid for]. And I am diligent in this matter. But Praise to Him who made its star to sink[52]! And as for the row which occurred

37 at my place: God has taken away its bitterness[53]. And where God has made [me] to profit[54] from it[55] by a dīnār, I have done business by means of it[55] partly

38 in prunes[56] and gum-arabic, almonds and soap[57] and earthen pots[58]—such as I am unable, and am not in the mood[59], to mention. For even as

39 I write this letter, I sigh: "Perhaps death is very near[60]." But I was pleased by what it[61] said about the arrival of the ships

40 safely in Sicily, and their success with the cargoes. And I desire of my Lord that he inform me of the names of the people

41 arriving in the Spanish ship; and likewise, [of] every ship which comes let him inform me of all the news,

Margin:

as though I were an eye-witness of it. And perhaps there may come to me a letter from Sicily, or from some place or other. But up to the present [news of] the escape of the youth has not reached me. May God decree "safety" for him! And there arrived to me the letter of my Lord the Sheikh a little while ago, mentioning that he had got the pamphlets which belonged to me [and were] with Rabbi Joshua—May God keep him! And of these there reached Rabbi Israel two pamphlets in which were the elements of [Hebrew] grammar, for him to copy off for my Lord. And after I had

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[51] עאודהא, confusion between عَاوَدَ "came back complaining," and أَعْوَدَهَا or أَعَادَهَا "brought it back."

[52] I.e. made the price to sink; or, caused the matter to be forgotten.

[53] מארה, an error for مَرَارَة. [54] נמע is جَمَّعَ?

[55] We doubt that the writer has anything in mind when he uses "it" so carelessly.

[56] סבסתאן. Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 625.

[57] נאסול is غاسول "cleanser."

[58] קללות, perhaps a feminine plural of the masculine noun קַלָּא.

[59] יתסע is يَتَّسِع from وسع "my breast is not expanded, I am not happy enough, to..."

[60] I.e. "Oh that death were near!"

[61] I.e. the letter he has received from Egypt.

נאכַד עליה פי תוגיההא וצל אליי | כתאבה יקול ערפני מא הי חתי אכתב
פי אמרהא | ללאסכנדריה פמא אערף איש הדא וכתאבה | ענדי אנהא כלהא
וצלת אליה ועלי אנה יוגההא | אליי מע מן כרג וקד עייאת מא אכתב פי |
אמרהא והי ח כרראריס פיהא מסאיל | בכט ידי לרבינו שמואל פי אשת בעלת
אב | ואלאתון ואלנחש ומסאיל כתירה וכראסה פיהא בם . . איכה וכרא[סה] |
פיהא קצה אלמש . . א . . . . . | אלא . . . א אכר גיר . . . . . | ואלכר[אסה . . . .] |
ואל . . . . . | לי ישראל | ינסכהא פבחק אלאהבה | אלא מפארג עני מולאי
אלשיך הדא אל | הם . וקד סררנא בופא | אלמא . . . . אללה יבלג בה
אלמנאפע | ויהדינא וכל ישראל ואמא | נחן פי הדא אלבלד מא נראו | פרג
אלקמוח עטימה | וקד תטאעמו פיהא אלגלא | אללה יחסן אלעאקבה | ולא
מעאש

Verso :

1 ואלי אלאן מא וצל ר נתן מן דמשק לאנה מצא מע ר יצחק קאל לה
תמצי מעי

2 ואעטיך אלתלת פי מא יחצל לי ואמא מא דכרה חרסה אללה אן אכתב
עלי זוגתה

3 נסכתין וג אנא אנתטר וצול ר נתן ואפעל פי דלך פוק אל שהוה ואמא ר׳
יצחק נט כח

4 הו פי עאפיה ומא ישך אחד פי מא דכרה חרסה אללה מן שגל באלה
בוגעה ללה אלחמד

5 אלדי אשפאה׳ ולעל יצל מן ענד מימון לי פרג פיערפני וכרלך סידי אבו
אלפצל קבל . . . . . נע

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62 נאכד, if correct, is نأخذ "we attacking." But على of the person is unusual.

63 אייט הדה is Syrian vernacular, *ēsh hāda* from ايّ شئ هذا "what sort of a thing this is."

64 עייאת is عَيَّيْتُ. Having used the double י for ىّ he employs א to avoid a third י.

65 כרראריס with an extra ר due to confusion with the singular form.

66 The correct title was אשת בעלת אוב. Cf. 1 Samuel xxviii, 7.

67 Numbers xxii, 28, about the ass of Balaam that spoke.

68 Genesis iii, 1, about the serpent that spoke.

69 Possibly "the Messiah." 70 I.e. "that exists between us"?

71 The מ and א are written over the line so as to suggest מפארג which we take to be مُفَرِّج.

72 סררנא is سُرِرْنا.

written to him—May God keep him!—taking him to task[62] about [not] sending them, there arrived to me his letter, saying: "Inform me of what they are, so that I may write about them to Alexandria." So, I don't know what to make of this[63]; for his letter is [on file] with me that all of them reached him, and to the effect that he would send them to me with whomever left [there for here]. But I am tired[64]. I shall not write about it. But they are eight pamphlets[65], among them [some treating of debatable] questions—in my own hand-writing—[namely:] by Rabbi Samuel on "A woman, Possessor of a Soothsaying Spirit[66]," and "The She-Ass[67]," and "The Serpent[68]"(?) and many questions. And [there is] a pamphlet in which.....Lamentations, and a pamphlet in which [there is] the story of the.....[69].....other, not.....and the pamphlet.....and the.....to Rabbi Israel for him to copy them. And, by the Love[70]! May my Lord the Sheikh dispel[71] this care from me! And we were pleased[72] at the success of the.....[73] May God increase the profits by means of it, and guide us aright and all Israel! And as for us in this country, we do not think there will be[74] any enormous[75] relief[76] in grain. And they have added profiteering[77] to [shortage]. May God make favorable the outcome, or else[78] [grant at least] subsistence!

Verso:

1 And up to the present Rabbi Nathan has not arrived from Damascus, because he went away with Rabbi Isaac. He said to him: "Go away with me
2 and I will give you the third of what I make." And as for what he says—God keep him!—that I should write at his wife's expense
3 two or three[79] amulets: I am expecting the arrival of Rabbi Nathan, and I shall do in this matter more than he could desire. And as for Rabbi Isaac,
4 he is in good health. And let no one doubt what he has said—God keep him from his worrying[80] over his bodily suffering. Unto God [be] the praise,
5 who cured him! And perhaps there will arrive from Rabbi Maimūn some relief for me, and he will inform me[81]. And so also my Lord Abū al-Faḍl.....

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[73] Perhaps مَأْخذ "mine," or "source of supply."

[74] גראו, perhaps a confusion of نَرَى "we [do not] think," and colloquial *yarau*, "they [do not] think."

[75] עטימה should be masculine.

[76] פרג is فَرَج, a break in the grain market, or a relief in the stringency of public need.

[77] גלא is غَلَاء. [78] ולא is وَإِلَّا.

[79] נ is أَوْ ٣. The *au* was pronounced *ō*.

[80] Cf. No. XXVI, ll. 12, 16.

[81] I.e. "about what to do for my own sickness."

6 לי ענדה חסאב ואעטם סרור ידכל עלי קלבי מא יתצל בי מן סלאמה
גסמה ואכבאר

7 יערפני בהא מן אלגרב לאני הונא משתאק לסמאע כבר לאני טול נהאר·
מחצור פי אל

8 דאר אקרא אלי וקת עצר אכרג סאעה אתפרג וארגע אלי צלאת מנחה·
וסרור אבן

9 סהלאן הו ענדנא פי אלקדם וגע אללה תעאלי ישפיה וידכר אנה תעוזה
נפקה

10 ומא יגד אחד ידכל אליה ולא יכלמה באל עזיז עליי ואלנאס מעדורין
יטלב ואחד

11 יעמל גמיל רבמא יחצל פי אשיא לא ירומהא ורבמא יכרג עלי וגבה
בעין אלאוקת

12 ישתרי לה חאגה והו יסכן פי דור אל מסלמין ולא דאכל ולא כארג עליה·
ואן סמע לר׳

13 יצחק אלאנדלסי חרסה אללה כבר בוצולה יכתב אליי בפצלה פאני מעלק
אלקלב אליה אללה

14 יסמעני ענה כיר ויערפני בפצלה אן כאן וצל רבינו יחי לעד למצר אללה
תעאלי יגעלה פי

15 חיז אל סלאמה קראת עלי מולאי אלשיך אגל אלסלם ומולאי אבו אלאיתן
ומולאי אבו עלי

16 אצהארה חרסהמא אללה אפצל אלסלם וקד וצלת כתב אבו אלפרג חאטה
אללה מן צור

17 והו פי כל עאפיה ואל צבי אשר סלמה אללה מעה אעלמתה דלך ושלום לן

Margin:

וקד תופי אלרגל אלדי כאן יטאלבני פי דאר אלשיך אבו אלאעלא | וגרת
לי מעה תלך אלקצין וקד לקי פעלה פעויל לנא פמא | אגפלנא ען חאל
אנפסנא אללה יג.. פי אגל מולאי ויטול | עמרה

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[82] I.e. events. [83] Article needed.

[84] אקרא for أَقْرُو "straining toward."

[85] תעוזה is تُعَوِّزه.

[86] מעדורין is مَعْذُورين. [87] אוקת is a confusion between أَوْقَات and وَقْت.

[88] I.e. He makes no distinction between close friends and mere acquaintances, between Jews and Muslims. [89] I.e. "do you."

6 I have an account against him; but the greatest happiness will enter my heart if there should reach me [news] of the health of his body, and news
7 informing me of it[82] in the West. For here I yearn to hear news, because I all day[83] long am shut up in the
8 house, waiting impatiently for[84] the time of afternoon [when] I can go out for an hour and take a walk and return for the Minḥah prayers. And Sarūr Ibn
9 Sahlān is with us in Jerusalem. He has been ill. May God the Exalted heal him! And he says that his losses are reducing him to poverty[85].
10 And he finds no one visiting him that he does not speak to him violently against me. And people are disappointed[86]. One tries
11 to do a kindness—often it results in things which one does not like. And often it leads to a crash on certain occasions[87].
12 [One] buys him something, and he [goes and] lives in the houses of the Muslims. To him there is no inside or outside[88]. And if there is heard of Rabbi
13 Isaac the Spaniard—God keep him!—any news about his arrival, let him[89] kindly write to me, for I hold him in great affection[90]. May God
14 cause me to hear from him good news! And let him kindly inform me if the Rabbi[91]—May he live forever!—reaches Cairo. May God the Exalted put him on
15 the side of safety! I am writing to my Lord the Sheikh the most distinguished peace[92], and [to] my Lord Abū al-Ētān[93], and [to] my Lord Abū 'Ulā[94]
16 his relations—God keep them both!—The most excellent of greeting! And the letters of Abū al-Faraj—God watch over him!—have arrived from Tyre.
17 And he is in all [good] health. And the boy, Asher,—God preserve him! —is with him. I am letting him[95] know that. Peace be unto him[95]!

Margin:

And the man has died who used to importune me in the house of the Sheikh Abū al-A'lā. And these doings[96] went on between us. And he has received his deserts[97]. But woe[98] unto us! For we are not unmindful of our own condition[99]. May God.....(?) my Lord most abundantly and extend his life!

---

[90] I.e. "I am dependent upon him as to heart."

[91] The bearer of the letter itself?

[92] סלם is سَلاَم.

[93] אֵיטָן.

[94] Hardly 'Alī; and we find 'Ulā in No. I.

[95] I.e. the addressee of the letter.

[96] קצין is قِصَص. Cf. Friedländer, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, p. 92.

[97] Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 546.

[98] פעויל is فَوَيْل. The ע was repeated from the preceding word.

[99] He remembers that he also may die, as well as the man whom he disliked.

Address:

لمولاى الشيخ ابو يحيى نهراى ابن نسيم من ابو زبير صدقة المغربى شاكره

اطال الله بقاه وادام سلامته وسعادته الفسطاط ان شا الله عزّ وجلّ

---

[100] As there are scarcely any points to distinguish similar letters from one another in these proper names, it is almost useless to try to make them out. But the Arabic type commits one to some definite reading.

Address[100]:

To my lord the Sheikh Abū Yaḥyā Nahrāi[101] Ibn Nissīm,
From his grateful Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī.
May God extend his [earthly] sojourn, and protract his health and happiness!
Al-Fusṭāṭ—If it please God[102], the Powerful and Exalted!

[101] Aramaic.
[102] I.e. that it should arrive safely.

XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters.

The beginning, perhaps a considerable portion, of this letter, is wanting; but what we have is well preserved. The cursive Hebrew hand is neat and legible, and continues so to the end; and the margin has not been filled with added scrawls. A blank space has unaccountably been left near the bottom. After the conclusion, line 25, several postscripts have been added. A cryptic signature or date stands at the lower right-hand corner.

This fragment may be the ending of a letter of which No. XXX is the beginning.

1 ואנא אדרבך ואעלמך גמיע מא אערף ואכדך מעי
2 לכל בית אן ארוח ליה בעד האדה רוח לאדכאן ביבעתני
3 כל שגל ביגי מנה ב ביקולי כדלך דרהם והאת דרהם
4 בנהאר פי שגלי ובליל בשתגל פילקראיה בעין מא
5 עלמני אלמכדום ואנא מסתקנע בדעאך ואנת תקול
6 אללה ירזקך חן והאסד קבלת מנך ואנא וביתי ואכותי
7 ואהלי ואצחאבי ואלקאהל פי שלום׃ בעד אלסלאם
8 אלתאם עליך ועלי אלאך אלעזיז כבוד ר צדאקא אלעפיף
9 יו ועלי ולדה אלשיך אבראהם יל ועלי ביתה אלגמיע
10 ועלי כבוד הדראת ר עבדיה אלחדרה יל ואיצא ואלדהו
11 ועלי כבוד ר אהרן אלצפיר איצא ואלדה ועלי סתנה
12 אלכבירה צאחבת אלבית ועלי סתנה אבו אלפרג צאחבת
13 אלאחסאן ועלי סתנה שקרה בנת אלמרחום ר מושה
14 זל צאחבת אלכיר ואלכרם ואלאחסאן אללה יגעל עמרכום

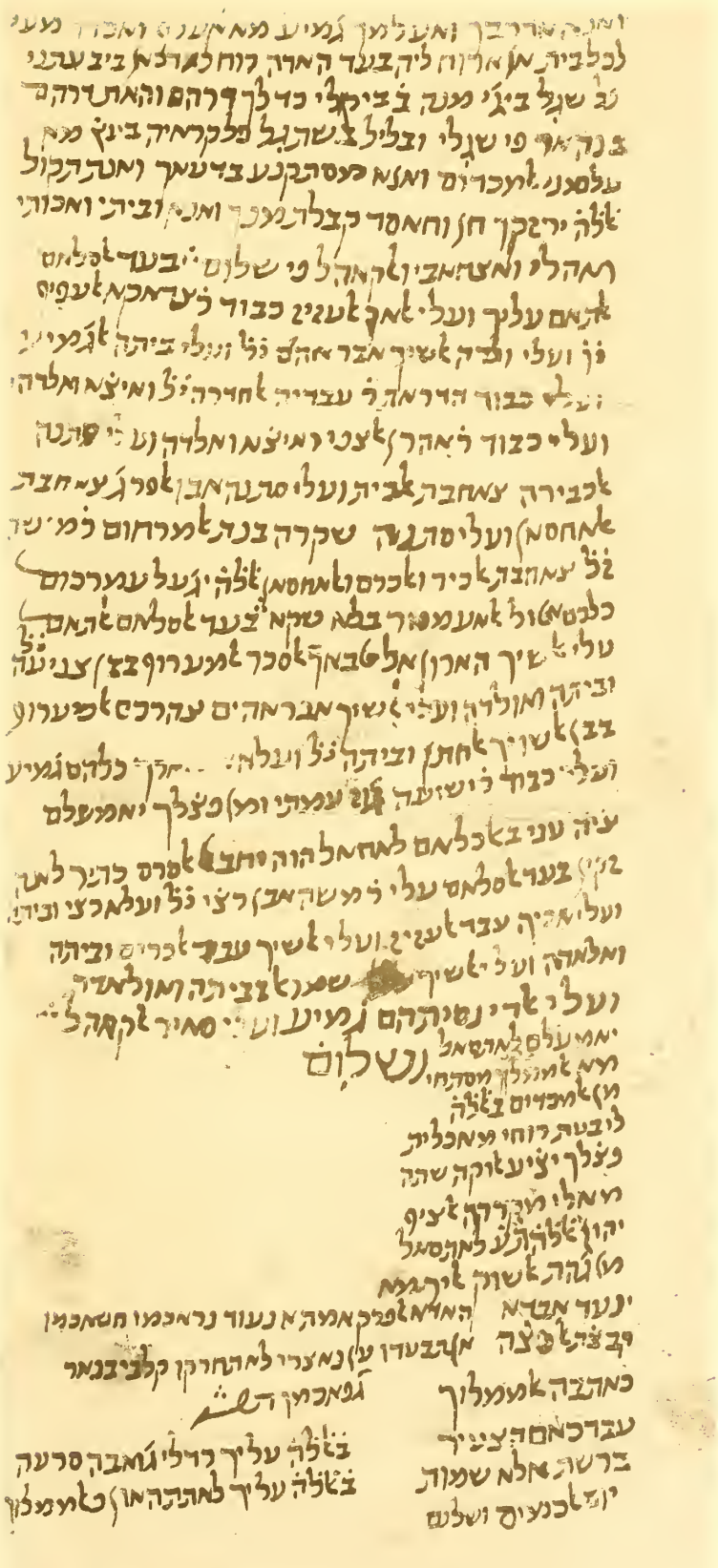
---

[1] אן used as an indefinite relative, quite clearly in this case; less clearly in other instances among our fragments. This is not modern vernacular, and appears to be a characteristic feature of Judeo-Arabic of the time. We also have in our fragments الذى in the sense of أَنْ, a semantic change illustrated by English "that": first the demonstrative pronoun, then the relative pronoun, then the conjunction. This use of الذى is the same as that of the modern colloquial *illi*: *ana mabsūṭ illi mā gāsh*, "I am glad that he did not come." Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, 1st ed., 1895, p. 17.

[2] *lē* for *lō* is Palestinian. [3] The Hebrew words. [4] I.e. "wife."

[5] بَعْدُ and not بَعْدَ, it seems.

[6] The writer is spelling almost phonetically both his Arabic and his Hebrew: חאסד = חָסֶד, קאהל = קָהָל, צדאקא = צְדָקָה. For this passage we know that צדקה was pronounced in the Hebrew way by Jews.



XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

This text, with No. XXX, is extremely interesting, not only because it has been plainly written and perfectly preserved, but because it antedates by possibly two hundred and fifty years the next oldest specimen which we have of colloquial Arabic: *Hazz al-Ḳuḥūf* by al-Shirbīnī, A.D. 1687. (Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. ii, p. 278.) In marked contrast to our texts Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, we find here a Jew writing, probably in the early fifteenth century, almost what is spoken in Cairo today. Was the writer a slave?

1 And I shall acquaint you with and inform you of all that I know. And I shall take you with me [in fancy]
2 to every house to which[1] I go[2]. After this go [in fancy with me] to the shop. [The proprietor] sends me
3 all business. From this there are two [shares]. He says to me: "There is a dirham!" and "Give [me] a dirham!"
4 Every day there is my business; and at night I work at reading some of the things which
5 the Master has taught me. And I am content with your prayer; for you say:
6 "May God grant you grace[3] and favor[3]!" I have received [it] from you. And I and my household[4] and my sisters
7 and my people, and my companions, and the congregation[3] are at peace[3]. Then[5] the perfect
8 salutation, to yourself and your dear people: the honorable[3] Rabbi Ṣedhāḳāh[6] al-'Afīf[7],
9 and to his son, the Sheikh Abraham[7], and to all his household;
10 and to his Honor, his Excellency[8], Rabbi Obadiah, his Excellency[8,7], and also his father,
11 and to the honorable[5] Rabbi Aaron al-Ṣafīr[9], also his father; and to our great
12 lady, the mistress of the house[10]; and to our lady [wife of] Abū al-Faraj, mistress of
13 benevolence; and to our lady Shuḳrah[11], daughter of the deceased Rabbi Moses[7],
14 mistress of good fortune, and generosity, and benevolence. May God make your lives

---

[7] יגדל ויחי = יו"ו "May he grow and live!" יהי לרצון = יל"ל "God be favorable to him!"

[8] هدرات and الحدرة are Arabic forms of the title הדרה. (Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 260, line 8.) ח and ה interchange. (Cf. Dalman, *Aramäisch Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed., 1922, p. 138, col. 1, lines 19–20.)

[9] Arabic صَفِير "sapphire," a substitute for Aramaic שַׁפִּיר "excellent," perhaps.

[10] I.e. the wife of the addressee. [11] I.e. "bright red."

15 כלכם אטול אלאעמאר בלא שקא בעד אלסלאם אלתאם
16 עלי אלשיך הארון אלטבאך אלסכר אלמערוף בבן צניעה יל
17 וביתה ואולדה ועלי אלשיך אבראהים צהרכם אלמערוף
18 בבן אלשויך אלחתן וביתה יל ועלא א[צה]ארך כלהם גמיע
19 ועלי כבוד ר ישועה גוז עמתי ומן פצלך יא מעלם
20 ציה עני באלכלאם לאחאל הוה יחב אלסרם כתיר לאנה
21 זקין בעד סלאם עלי ר משה אבן רצי יל ועלי רצי וביתה
22 ועלי אביך עבד אלעזיז ועלי אלשיך עבד אלכרים וביתה
23 ואלאדה ועלי אלשיך שמואל וביתה ואולאדה
24 ועלי אלדי נסיתהם גמיע ועלי סאיר אלקאהל
25 יא מעלם לא תסאל ושלום
26 מא אלממלוך מסתחי
27 מן אלמכדום באללה
28 ליבעת רוחי מא כלית
29 פצלך יציע אלוקת שתה
30 מא לי מקדרה אלציף
31 יהון אללה תע לא תסאל
32 מן גהת אלשוק אליך מא
33 ינעד אבדא האדא אלפרק אמהא נעוד נראכמו חשאכמו
34 קבצת אלפצה אן תבעדו ען נאצרי לא תחרקו קלבי בנאר
35 כאתבה אלממלוך גפאכמו
36 עבדכאם הציר באללה עליך רד לי גואבה סרעה
37 ברשת אלא שמות באללה עליך לא תתהאון באלממלוך
38 יום אלכמים ושלום

---

12 I.e. "sugar." Cf. *Zuckermann*, etc.

13 I.e. "son of invention."

14 I.e. "son of the little Sheikh."

15 I.e. مُعَلِّم "teacher."

16 ציה and לאחאל are plainly written.

17 סרם appears to be شَرَس. Cf. the modern Cairene *sams* for *shams*, *semāl* for *shemāl*, etc.: Spitta, *Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, 1880, p. 18.

18 ואלאדה for وَأَوْلَادُهُ.

15 —all of you—the longest of lives, without want! Then[5] the perfect salutation
16 to the Sheikh Aaron, the cook al-Sukkar[12], known by [the name of] Ibn Ṣanī'ah[13,7],
17 and his house and his children; and to the Sheikh Abraham, your son-in-law, known by [the name of]
18 Ibn al-Shuwaikh[14], the son-in-law[3] and his household[4,7]; and to all your wife's relatives, all;
19 and to the honorable[3] Rabbi Joshua, husband of my paternal aunt. And please, Master[15],
20 .....from me in conversation for[16].....he loves much to quarrel[17], because
21 he is an old man[3]. Then[5] [the] salutation to Rabbi Moses Ibn Raḍī, and to Raḍī and his household[4],
22 and to your father, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and to the Sheikh 'Abd al-Karīm and his household[4],
23 and his children[18]; and the Sheikh Samuel and his household[4] and his children,
24 and to those whom I have forgotten, all [of them]; and to the rest of the congregation[3,6].
25–26 So, Farewell!

---

25 O Master[15], do not ask [for reassurances]!
26 The slave is not ashamed
27 of the Master. Allah!
28 It excites me [to think of] how I have made
29 your Excellency waste time! [In the] winter
30 I have no provision. [In] the summer
31 God the Exalted[19] will help. Do not ask [for reassurances]
32 in regard to the affection [which I bear] toward you. It
33 shall not be counted[20] at all.
34 I got the silver.
35 The writer of it is the slave,
36 your insignificant servant,
37 "Genesis—Exodus[21]"
38 Thursday. Farewell!

33bis This is the separation. But we shall see you again. Far be it from you
34bis to hold aloof from my helper! Do not consume my heart with the fire[22] of
35bis your cruelty[23].
36bis I implore you by Allah! Return me a speedy answer!
37bis I implore you by Allah! Do not neglect the slave!

---

[19] תְּעַ = تعالى. [20] ינעד is يُنْعَدُّ (VIIth for the VIIIth form).
[21] Hebrew בראשית אלה שמות.
[22] These two lines, with the curious אמהא for أَمَّا (?) and the classical forms ending in *-kumū*, could almost be scanned as *rajaz* verses.
[23] Followed by a curious scrawl, half Hebrew and half Arabic.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

Since the paper and ink are well preserved, and the writing is very plain, almost every letter can be certainly read. The language is an attempt at classical Hebrew, often distorted for the sake of the meter, and not always giving clear sense. Vowel points are inserted in places, and for the most part correctly.

The meter of the first nineteen verses appears to be a sort of *rajaz* trimeter. The remainder does not scan. In this first section of nineteen verses the second hemistichs are all rimed, with some difficulty, on the first hemistich of the poem; this hemistich appears again as the closing one of the section. In verses 21–24 the same rime is continued; it appears finally in the last verse of the entire poem.

The fragment can perhaps be dated not long before or after the death of the Abraham to whom it is addressed, in A.D. 1237.

Recto:

1 בשם רחמ

2 גול על יי יעריצך · אדון וירבה גיל עלציך

3 דרך לך כוכב וגם האיר · אורו לשבענה בארציך

4 לו משאלתיו נתנו אליו · ירד היותו לך מחוז חפציך

5 רמתה עלי כל שר ותבל · עמרה להיות מלא קומציך

6 תשב באיתן קשתך עד כי · תורה שנונים יהיו חיציך

7 נקרא שמך אברם ואברהם · שמך אדון עולם ברכיך

8 ישלים רפואתך ותתנשא · ישא לך פנים וירציך

9 קום ועלה היום לתורת אל · הודה לאל פודך ופוציך

10 אתה אביר רועים לריעיך · רצתה בדין רבים ברוציך

11 שגו בגן שכלך ברושי הוד · תחת היותם נעצוציך

12 יפרתו אובים וכל שנאים · לעד עדי יכלו מנאציך

---

[1] Perhaps influenced by the Muslim formula.

[2] Cf. Psalm xxxvii, 5.

[3] יעריצך for יַעֲרִיצֶךָּ on account of the rime, as in other cases also.

[4] Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17. [5] Cf. Genesis xlix, 24.

[6] Cf. Isaiah v, 28, as nāgīd.

[7] Cf. Genesis xvii, 5.

[8] Abraham Maimūnī was physician to the Sultan.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

This poem of praise, consolation and encouragement, is addressed by some unknown person to a certain Abraham, who is a physician, a man in high position in the world, and greatly respected by the Jewish community of which he is the champion. He has been attacked by certain enemies, and perhaps even by a mob. The person meant is presumably Abraham Maimūnī, the son of the great Maimonides. He was born June 17, 1186, and died in the year 1237. He became nāgīd, probably in 1205, and was physician to the Sultan. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 248 ff.; vol. ii, pp. 326 ff. Eppenstein, *Abraham Maimuni sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 1914 (cited by Mann); Steinschneider, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur der Juden*, § 159; אוצר ישראל, *sub voce* מימוני; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 463; *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. iv, p. 24; *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1900, pp. 9 ff., 14 ff.; קובץ על יד, vol. xv, 1899.

Recto:

1 In the Name of the Compassionate[1]
2 Commit [your ways] unto the Lord[2]. The company of your rejoicers
shall praise you in awe[3], my Lord, and it shall increase.
3 A star[4] has gone forth for you; and its light has shone to our satisfaction
in your land.
4 If they gave it what it asks, it would come down [from the sky, to] become
the city of your desire.
5 You are exalted above every prince. And the world is about to be filled
with your abundance.
6 Your bow remains strong[5] until you shoot. Your arrows are sharp[6].
7 You were called "Abram"; but the Lord of the World has made you
an "Abraham" in your resting places[7]. [For]
8 He makes your cures succeed, and you are exalted[8]. He lifts up [His]
countenance upon you, and is gracious to you.
9 Arise and go up today for the Law of God. Give thanks unto God, your
redeemer and your deliverer.
10 You are the mightiest of shepherds unto your companions. You have
hastened [to help] many in court with your ready [help][9].
11 Splendid cypresses have grown in the garden of your intelligence, instead
of (their being) thorn-hedges (of yours[10]).
12 All enemies[11] and haters shall be cut off for ever, until your revilers come
to an end.

---

[9] His position made it possible for him to come to the aid of his brethren.

[10] Cf. Isaiah lv, 13.

[11] אובים. The syllable ְ having no full vowel does not count with the meter, and has here dropped out entirely. Read אוֹיְבִים.

13 ידגו וגם יפרו שתיליך · האל ויפריח לנציך
14 שִׁירִי עַמֹּה שִׁרְיָן וְתַלְבּוּשָׁת · קומה חגור היום חלציך
15 מַה לָּךְ וְקוֹצֵי שִׁיר סְבִיבָךְ · שִׁירִי וֵרֹה הַיום לקוֹצֵיך
16 אם כן בני לוי יהודון בך · נחנו בני דוד מליציך
17 הִנֵּה אֲנִי אָבַר תבונתך · אֶזְרֶה לְסוּפָתָךְ ומוֹצֵיך
18 אם יצטמוך בעלי חצים · אַצְטֹם יריביך ולו חציך
19 ברך לאומרים אל ירא אל · גול על יי׳ יעריציך

20 [פזמ]
21 גְּדֹלָךְ מבלי נגרע · מאת האל קדושיך ·
22 מֵעֲרֵיךְ הוא נִפְרָע · ומִכָּל דרשי מוקשיך ·
23 יום הציף בו המון הפרע · ונחך אל בית קדשיך ·
24 יי׳ ישמרך מכל רע · ישמר את נפשיך ·

25 פזמ
26 לָאל אודה על גאולת · עמי ורפאות אב המונים
27 אברהם מבחר סגולת · עם אֵל רב כל תחכמונים
28 יזכה אסוף נדחי גולת · אריאל ובאו ברננים
29 אל רֹאש הַר כָּל מכונים · אשר תאוה נפשיך

Verso:

1 פזמ
2 אל חי לעמו חיש יקרא · גיל ובאברתו יסך לך
3 עַם אברהם אל תירא · הנה אנכי מגן לך
4 הגוי הזה מה נורא · היום כי יי׳ מֶלֶךְ
5 וכל גוי רשע יושלך · ותגל אתה בְּנַפְשֶׁיךְ

6 פזמ

---

12 לָנֶצַח twisted into לָנֶצֶיךְ?

13 אֶבֶר? 14 לְסוּפָתָךְ?

15 יצטמוך and אַצְטֹם (corrected to אַיְשְׁטֹם) stand for יִשְׁטְמוּךְ and אֶשְׁטֹם, with שׁ assimilated to ט, and ְ then assimilated to צ. Cf. Genesis xlix, 23.

16 יְרִיבֶךָ with direct object?

17 The poet pronounced יִרְאֵי as יֵרֵי.

13 Thy cuttings, O God, shall multiply, and increase, and flourish for ever[12].
14 O my Song, cover yourself with armor and raiment! Arise and gird your loins today!
15 What have you to do with suppressors of song about you? Scatter my song today to those who would cut you off!
16 If thus the sons of Levi praise you, we sons of David are your interpreters.
17 Behold I am the pinion[13] of your intelligence. I will winnow your whirlwind[14] and your chaff.
18 If the people with arrows attack you[15], I will attack[15] them that contend with you[16]. And [had I only] your arrows!
19 Bless those who say unto those who fear[17] God: "Commit [your ways] unto the Lord[2]."
20 [Pizmōn[18]]
21 Your greatness is not at all diminished. From God is your holiness,
22 He will demand satisfaction from your oppressors and from all those who seek to ensnare you.
23 On the day of the pouring out of [the] mob [there was] the leadership [of God] and your resting secure upon your holy house[19]!
24 The Lord will keep you from every ill. He will keep your soul[20].
25 Pizmōn
26 To the Lord I will give thanks for the redemption of my people, and the healing of the Father of Multitudes,
27 Abraham, the chosen possession of the people of God, the chief of all the Tahchemonites[21].
28 May the gathering of the outcasts of the exiles of Ariel[22] be pure. And they shall come with joy[23]
29 to the top of the Mountain[22], [the place of] all places which your soul desires.

Verso:

1 Pizmōn
2 The Living God calls to His people: "Hasten, Rejoice!" For with His pinion He covers you, [saying:]
3 "O people of Abraham, fear not! Behold I am a shield unto you!"
4 How dreadful is this people today! For the Lord is King,
5 and every evil nation shall be destroyed; but you yourself shall rejoice.
6 Pizmōn

---

[18] Instead of פזמ occurs the cursive Coptic numeral for 500, derived from the Coptic-Greek numeral ϕ. This may merely be intended for an ornament, dividing the introduction from the three stanzas.

[19] Referring to some experience of Abraham Maimūnī?

[20] Psalm cxxi, 7.

[21] I.e. "mighty men." Cf. II Samuel xxiii, 8.

[22] "Jerusalem." Cf. Isaiah xxix, 1.

[23] ברנגות. The *masculine* plural would mean "*female* ostriches."

XXX. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

This is possibly a part of the same letter as No. XXVIII. Both fragments are of the same paper, cut to the same width, written in the same hand and in the same unusual Arabic (cf. Introd. No. XXVIII). Possibly a page has been lost between No. XXX and No. XXVIII. The first two lines of No. XXX unfortunately are defective, and we do not know the name of either of the correspondents, nor the date.

1 . . . . . כו אלשפיק . . . . ם

2 . . . . . אלסעיד [אט]אל אללה בקאה חר . .

3 ויתולאה ויגמע שמלנא ברייאה פי ירושלאים עה תו . . .

4 בחיר וביאמך אנס באן אלממלוך דאעי ללמכדום כת

5 כתיר אללה יעון קלבך בגמיע מא תחב וינאולך מא

6 תקצד פי גמיע אפעאלך אללה יטול עמרך ויכתר

7 רצקך מא דאמת אלאיאם ואלסנין אללה יקדרני עלי מסולאת

8 יא מעלם לא תסאל מא גרא לי מן יום אן טלעת מן מצר

9 חצלי אלכיר מן פצל אללה ופצלך גית אללא אלכאנכה ומעי יא

ארבע איאם

10 נצף פצא קעת עמלת ה תנצאף גית אסבת פי בלבים מא עמ

11 עמלת שי גינא לצאלחיה עמלת ג תנצאף גית לאקטיה

12 קעת ה תיאם עמלת בשרפי גינא לאגוה קעת כמסטעשר

---

1 עה=עיר הקודש or עיר הנדחת 2 ח used to represent خ.

3 וביאמך possibly = وَبِأَيَّامِكَ, the slanting stroke standing for ّ. Cf. line 7. אנס stands for أَمْن نَصّ سِلَه, "Certain! Confidence! Selah!"

4 I.e. "I." 5 I.e. "the one who is served."

6 The first two letters of כתיר occur also at the end of the preceding line.

7 צ for ج. 8 مُعَلِّم.

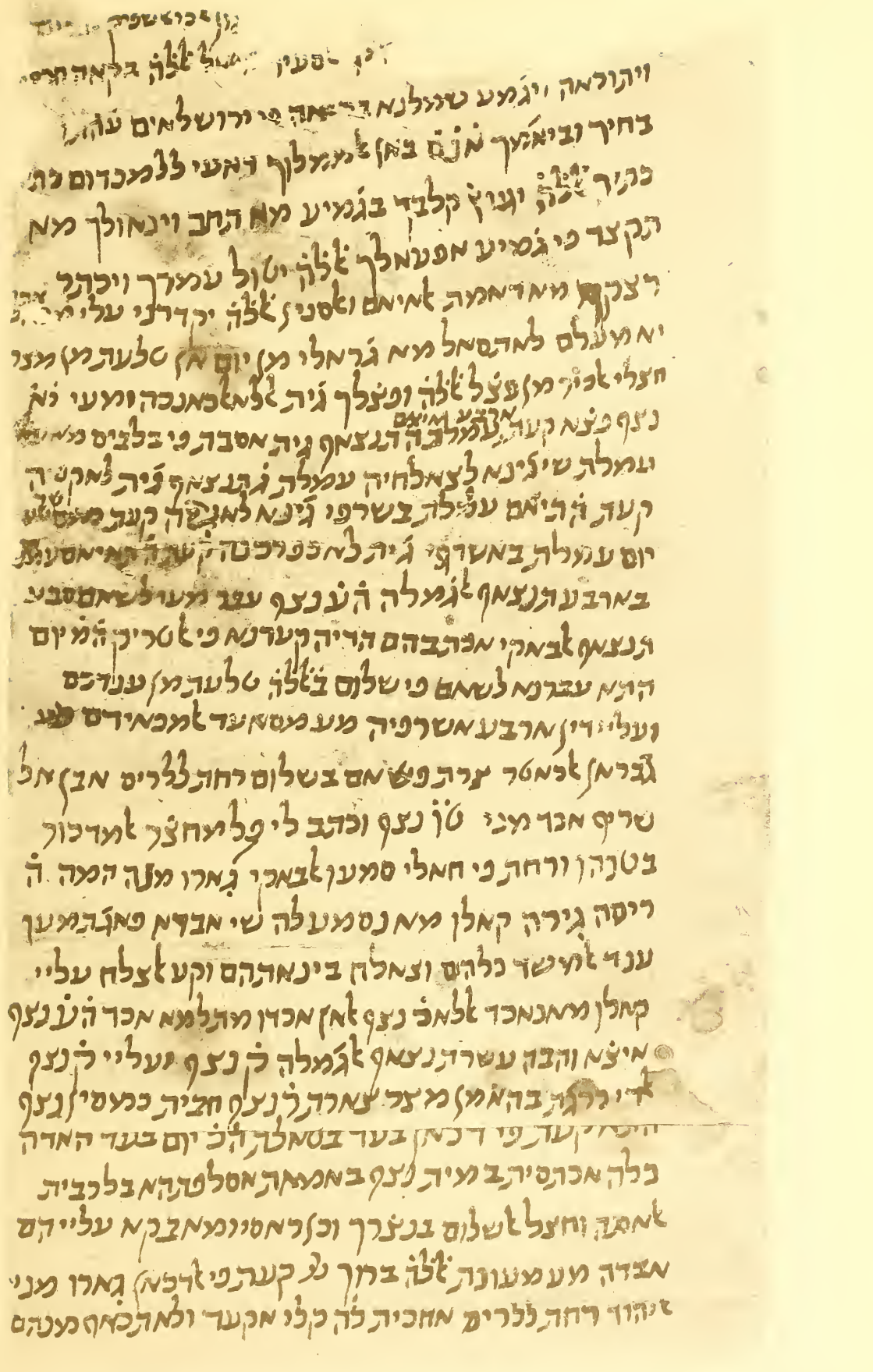
9 חצלי = vernacular *ḥaṣállī*.

10 A village about twenty kilometers north and east of Cairo, on the old caravan route to Syria. אללאאל is a confusion of *ila* and vernacular *li al*, the א representing the vowel *i*.

11 קעת=قَعَدتْ, as in classical Arabic. 12 "four days" above the line.

13 ה תנצאף is the vernacular *khámastanṣâf*. So also, line 11, *talátṭanṣâf*, lines 12, 13, *khámastīyám*; line 14, *árba'tanṣâf*, and other instances.

14 אסבת = السَّبْت.



XXX. PART OF A LETTER

We have here the beginning of a breezy letter written by someone in Damascus to someone in Fusṭāṭ. The writer has recently made the journey from the latter to the former place, earning or begging money from (Jewish?) communities on the way. Arriving at Damascus he is mulcted by both Muslims and Jews, but especially the latter, who are jealous of him. After establishing himself in business he has more trouble of the same sort, and is befriended by the Muslim ra'īs. Here the text breaks off.

The use of "ashrafī" and "nuṣf faḍḍah," instead of "dīnār" and "dirham," is found in No. XLI also. The "nuṣf" was not used before the days of the sultan al-Mu'ayyad (A.D. 1412–1421). Our fragment may therefore be dated in the early 15th century.

1 .....al-Shafīḳ.....
2 .....al-Sa'īd. May God prolong his life.....
3 and direct him, and reunite us by seeing him in Jerusalem[1].....
4 in good condition[2]. And in your days: A!N!S![3]; since the slave[4] prays for the Master[5]
5 often[6]: "God requite your heart with all that you desire, and give you what
6 you seek in all your undertakings! God prolong your life and multiply
7 your sustenance[7] as long as days and years continue!" God enable me to [answer your] questions!
8 O, Master[8], do not ask what happened to me from the day when I came up from Cairo!
9 I had[9] good luck by the grace of God and your grace. I came to al-Khānḳah[10], having with me eleven
10 half pieces of silver. I stayed[11] four days[12]. I made five half[13] [pieces of silver]. I arrived on a Sabbath[14] in Bilbais[15], [and so] I made[16]
11 nothing. We went to al-Ṣāliḥīyah[17]. I made three half[13] [pieces of silver]. I came to Ḳaṭyah[18].
12 I stayed[11] five days[13]. I earned an ashrafī[19]. We came to Gaza[20]. I stayed[11] fifteen[21]

---

[15] About 35 kilometers from al-Khānḳāh further along the caravan route.

[16] The first two letters of עמלת occur also at the end of the preceding line.

[17] About 55 kilometers from Bilbais, further along the caravan route.

[18] About 75 kilometers from al-Ṣāliḥīyah, further along the caravan route, in Sinai. Cf. Wüstenfeld's edition of *Yāḳūt*, vol. iv, p. 144, where the article is omitted as here in our fragment. The א in לאקטיה, לאגזה (l. 12), לאכפרכנה (l. 13), represents the vowel of the preposition.

[19] A gold-piece worth a dīnār, or somewhat less than a dīnār. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce* and our note 23. The preposition *bi* is here properly used with the verb. Cf. Spiro, *Vocab.*, p. 413.

[20] לאגזה, cf. note 18. About 190 kilometers from Ḳaṭyāh, further along the caravan route, in Palestine.

[21] חמסטעישר *khámasṭá'sher* is an interesting form with transposed ' still retained, and *ṭ* changed to *ṭ́* by the '. The modern form is *khámastásher*.

13 יום עמלת באשרפי ג׳ית לאכפרכנה קעת ה תאיאם עמל[ת]
14 בארבע תנצאף אלגמלה הע נצף עבר מעי לשאם סבע
15 תנצאף אלבאקי אכת בהם הריה קעדנא פי אלטריק המ יום
16 התא עברנא לשאם פי שלום באללה טלעת מן ענדכם
17 ועליי דין ארבע אשרפיה מע מסאעד אלמכאידם מע
18 גבראן אלכאטר צרת פשאם בשלום רחת ללרים אבן אל
19 שריף אכד מני טו נצף וכתב לי פלמחצר אלמדכור
20 בטנהו ורחת פי חאלי סמעו אלבאקי גארו מנה המה ה
21 ריסה גירה קאלו מא נסמע לה שי אבדא פאגתמעו
22 ענד אלמשד כלהום וצאלח בינאתהם וקע אלצלח עליי
23 קאלו מא נאכד אללא כ נצף אלאן אכדו מתל מא אכד הע נצף
24 איצא והבה עשר תנצאף אלגמלה ק נצף ועליי ק נצף
25 אלדי כרגת בהא מן מצר צארת ר נצף חבית כמסין נצף
26 התא קעת פי דכאן בעד בטאלת הכ יום בעד האדה
27 כלה אכתסית במית נצף באמאת אסלפתהא בלרבית
28 אלאסנה וחצל אלשלום בנצרך וכן ראסי ומא בקא עליי הם
29 אבדה מע מעונת אללה ברוך יי קעת פי אלדכאן גארו מני
30 אליהוד רחת ללרים אחכית לה קלי אקעד ולא תכאף מנהם

---

22 Cana of Galilee, north and east of Nazareth.

23 If the ashrafī was worth 15¾ dirhams (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 43), 75 half-dirhams or half-faḍḍahs would be the correct total of the collections in the various towns.

24 أَخَذتْ. Cf. note 11.

25 He put aside—though where and how?—68 half pieces, and took seven along to Damascus.

26 ה for ח.

27 מסאעד אלמכאידם possibly for מסאעדת אלמכאדים. The singular, מכדום, is elsewhere used of the addressee of this letter. The plural is here used of the Damascus Jews.

28 جَبْرًا الخاطر with مَعَ redundantly. The writer was virtually seized by the Damascus Jews.

29 I.e. the Damascus Jews.

30 Vernacular idiom. Cf. Spiro, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

31 המה. Cf. the Maghrabī form *hūma*.

32 The vernacular negative, *mā.....-sh abadan*.

33 مُشدّ. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 736, "inspecteur."

34 Since in line 9 he says that he had only eleven half pieces upon reaching his first station from Cairo; and in lines 16–17 he says that he left owing four ashrafīs (=126 half pieces according to line 14. Cf. note 23).

13 days. I earned an ashrafī[19]. I came to Kafr Kannah[22]. I stayed[11] five days[13]. I earned

14 four half[13] [pieces of silver]. The total [was] 75 half [pieces of silver][23]. There crossed over with me to Damascus seven

15 half[13] [pieces of silver]. The remainder I held onto[24] as a present [to myself?][25]. We remained on the road 45 days

16 until[26] we crossed over to Damascus safely[1]—By Allah! I went out from among you

17 owing a debt of four ashrafīs!—with the help of the gentlemen[27],

18 against my will[28] I came to Damascus safely! I went to the ra'īs, the son of the

19 sharīf. He took from me 15 half [pieces of silver] and he gave me a receipt in the [presence of the] aforementioned assemblage[29],

20 [in the very] midst of it. And I went about my business[30]. The rest heard [of this]. They were jealous about it. Five of them[31],

21 the ra'īs (of it) [and] others, said: "We shan't listen to this at all[32]." And they gathered in a crowd

22 at the house of the mushidd[33], all of them; and he tried to make peace between them. The peace turned out to my disadvantage.

23 They said: "We shall not take more than 20 half [pieces of silver]." Now they have taken what he took, [and] 75 half [pieces of silver]

24 also, and a gratuity of ten half [pieces][13], the total being 100 half [pieces]. But I owed 100 half [pieces] with [the debt

25 of] which I set out from Cairo[34]. That made 200 half [pieces]. I desired fifty half [pieces]

26 before[26] I should take my seat[11] in a shop. After an idleness of 25 days, after all

27 this, I clothed myself for 100 half [pieces] from sums (?)[35] which I borrowed[36] at interest[37]

28 payable the next year[38]. And peace[1] reigned, with your favor[39]; and so[1] [also I] myself[40] [was at peace], and I had no more anxiety

29 at all[41], with the help of God. Blessed be the Lord[1]! I sat[11] in the shop. The Jews

30 were jealous of me. I went to the ra'īs. I told[42] him. He said to me[43]: "Stay where you are, and don't be afraid of them."

---

[35] I.e. "sources."

[36] For this sense, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce*.

[37] Hebrew רִבִּית.

[38] أَسْنَهُ, an adjective of defect, derived secondarily from سَنَةٌ "year," and meaning usually "skipping alternate years."

[39] Vernacular *binaẓrak*.

[40] I.e. "my head." Cf. روح وجه عين نفس, and the Ethiopic *re'es*, "head," "self."

[41] هَمٌّ أَبَدًا.

[42] *iḥkēt*. Cf. Spitta, *Gram.*, p. 232.

[43] *ḳállī*.

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. line 23), probably represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII. Note the persistent rime.

1 אשרי שמרי משפט עושה צדקה בכל עת׃

2 אשרי משכיל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטה[ו יהוה]׃

3 אויה לי כי גרתי משך שכנתי עם אהלי ק[דר]׃

4 והכיתי ליי המסתיר פנים וקו[ית]י לו׃

5 הדרת יקרת אדיר שרי המלאכת· כבוד הוד אציל הורי בו לכת׃

6 טפסר מצאר חן· ברור לבב בת חן· להסליל ול..ל

7 ועדי עד יתקיים· במצותיו הוא קיים· .....

8 יפה טוב ....ם· להטיב כל מעש· ב.....

9 ברוחו האצילו· חסות תחת צילו· כל ק.....

10 ....ל· ....

11 כבוד גדולת תהלת· יקר קהלת· המונת מעלת· הדרת יקרת·

12 צברת כתרת· אדוני ומרי· החכם הנבון· החסיד הנדיב יש[ר]

13 בדרכיו· תם במפעליו· השר המיוקר· הזקן המפואר· מכהפ

14 אברהם הידוע אביסעד שמרו צורו· ויעזרו נוצרו· לא י[ק]ל

15 עושרו· ולא יכבה נרו· קמיו יפלו· ואויביו יושפלו· תחת ש[בטו]

16 יוכפלו· יחדו המה יתהוללו· בן מב גד קה הדו ...

17 [ה]דר עטרת· הוד תפארת· אדונינו הזקן הגדול [ה]ש[ר]....

18 והמכובד סהל הידוע אבי אלפצ[ל] תהא נפשו נהויה·.....

---

1 Psalm cvi, 3. 2 Psalm xli, 2.

3 Psalm cxx, 5.

4 Isaiah viii, 17.

5 ?אֵצֶל 6 ?מְצְהַר 7 ?כְּמַעֲשֵׂה 8 ?הַצִּילוֹ

9 Isaiah xxx, 3.

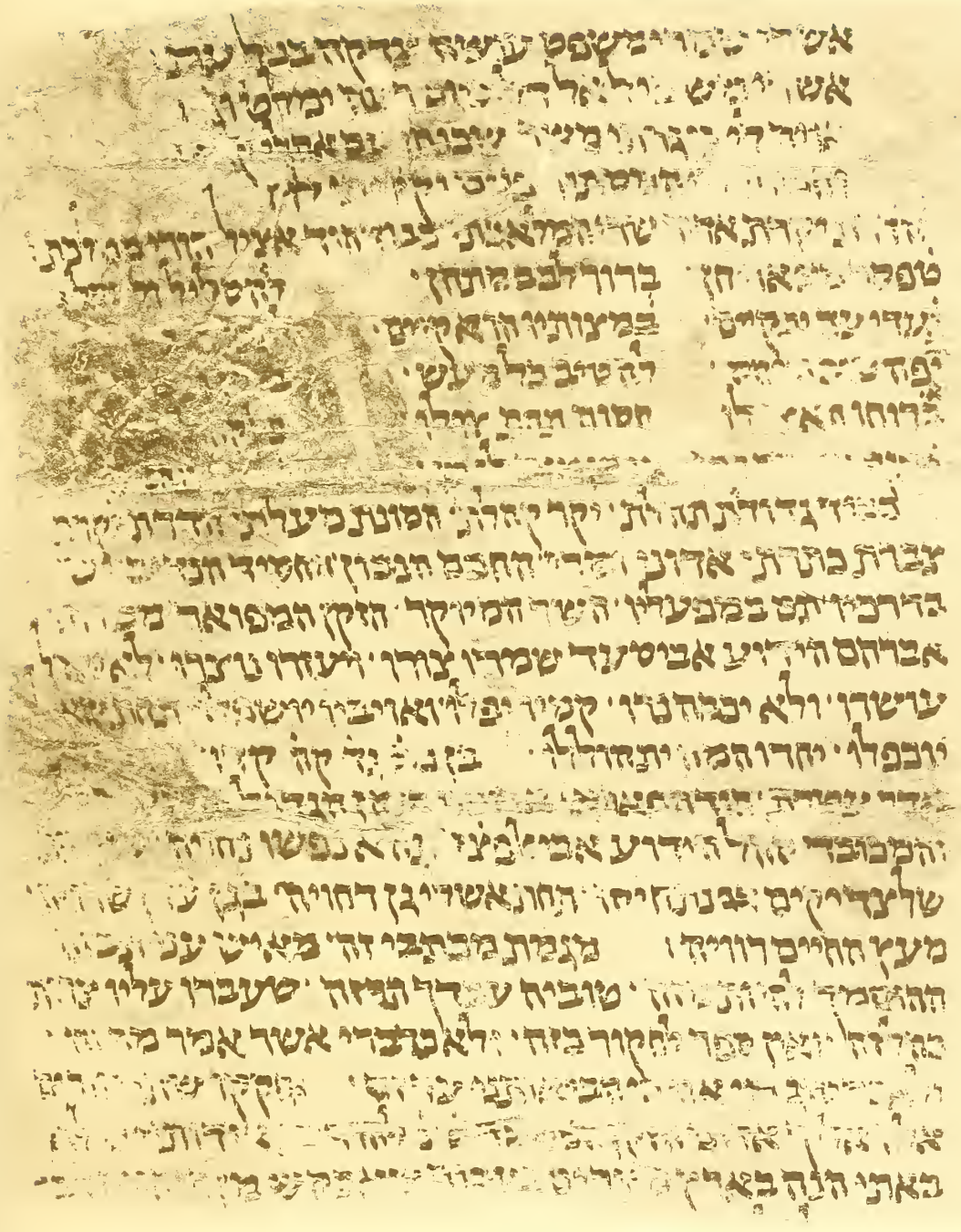
10 Feminine endings forming a sort of abstract noun.

11 The Arabic name, with Abū changed to Abī, to make it seem Hebrew (cf. Abimelek).

May 10, 1954

Mr. J. D. Goldstein (Dropsie College) and Zvi Ankori (Research Fellow of Columbia University)

say that nos. 31 and 32 are the same letter which has become unglued before reproduction and that the note at the top of page 142 is in part in error.



Genizah Fragment 31

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

A letter from one, Tobiah, to Abū Sa'd Abraham Ibn Abū al-Faḍl Sahl al-Tustarī, the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in A.D. 1048. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 76 ff., and Index; Gottheil, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62. Our fragment is without address or date, but can safely be dated at about A.D. 1048.

Tobiah has had great misfortune. He explains that he did not come to Egypt in order to obtain assistance.

1 Blessed are they that keep justice, and [blessed is] he that doeth righteousness at all times[1].
2 Blessed is he that considereth the poor. The Lord will deliver him in the day of evil[2].
3 Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech, that I dwell among the tents of Kedar[3]!
4 And I will wait for the Lord, that hideth [His] face, and I will look for Him[4].
5 [To] the Beauty of the Dignity[10] of the Mighty One of the Princes of Commerce! Honor, Glory with[5] those who teach walking therein!
6 The Courtier, the Gracious Countenance[6]! Illustrious, Merciful of Heart, to.....and to.....
7 And for ever and ever he shall be established. In His commands he is enduring.....
8 Beautiful, Good, ...to do every thing well[7].....
9 In his spirit escape[8]. Asylum under His shadow[9]. Every.....
10 .....
11 To the Honor of the Majesty of the Praise of the Dignity of the Congregation of the Multitude of the Height of the Beauty of the Dignity[10]
12 of the Abundance[10] of the Crown[10] of my Lord and Master the Wise, the Intelligent, the Pious, the Generous, Upright
13 in his ways, Perfect in his deeds, the Honored Prince, the Glorified Elder, ...
14 Abraham, known as Abū Sa'd[11]—May his Rock[12] be his preservation, and may his Protector help him[13]! May his wealth not
15 decrease, and may his light not be extinguished! May they fall that rose against him, and his enemies be brought low, under his rod!
16 May they be confounded! One and all, may they be confounded! Son of the Honor of the Majesty of the.....
17 Beauty of the Crown of the Glory of the Beauty of our Lord, the Elder, the Great, the Prince.....
18 and the Honored Sahl, known as Abū al-Faḍl. May his soul live[14], quickened.....

---

[12] I.e. God. [13] וְיַעֲזְרֵהוּ? [14] תְּחִי?

19 של צדיקים בגנת חיים׃ תחת אשלי גן דחויה׃ בגן עדן שרויה׃

20 מעין החיים רוויה׃ מגמת מכתבי זה׃ מאיש עני ונבזה׃

21 ההוסמך להיות מזה׃ טוביה עבדך הרזה׃ שעברו עליו צרות

22 כהלזה׃ ואין ספר לחקור בזה׃ ולא כדברי אשר אמר מה זה׃

23 ולא כמנהג מי אני כי הביאותני עד זה׃ נחקקו שתי טורים

24 אלה אליך׃ אדוני הזקן הנכבד שׂא להודיע אודות כי לא

25 באתי הנה בארץ מצרים בעבור שאבקש מן הזקנים דבר

---

15 דְּחַוְיָה? Aramaic.

16 טורים, "pages," literally "rows," "series." The letter originally consisted of two pages, our fragments XXXI and XXXII.

19 of the righteous, in the Garden of Life, under the tamarisks of the Garden
of the Serpent[15], planted in the Garden of Eden,
20 saturated from the Tree of Life! The purpose of this, my letter, from
a man poor and despised, [and]
21 the establishing [of fact] to result from this [letter is that] there have
passed, over Tobiah, your servant, the lean, troubles
22 like this. And there is no book on this [subject] for [you to] study. Nor
[is there anything] like my words when I say: "What is this!"
23 Nor am I like another man when Thou [O God] hast brought me to
this!" These two pages[16] have been drawn up[17]
24 for you, my Lord, the honored Elder—May God preserve him!—to make
known the causes [of my plight]. For I did not
25 come here to the land of Egypt in order that I might seek anything
from the elders.

---

17 נְחַקּוּ?

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{7}{8} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. XXXI, line 23), represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII.

1 שאתכרכר ואתפרנס· אבל באתי הנה בעבור דבר אחר
2 וישבתי שנה תמימה במלאכת אדוני המפואר ולא ראיתי
3 רווחה במעשי ידי וגם לא עמדתי לפני אדם אחד שאב[קש]
4 ממנו מחיה ולא בקשתי מן אדם וגם לא נתן לי א[דם]
5 [דבר מעו]לם זולת . . . . . ן · א . . . . . תק ל ע
6 במקום הזה· והאלהים יודע איך חיינו שלשת הנפ[שות כל]
7 השנה מכובד דוחק המחיה ואמר לי אבי אלפרג . . . . .
8 כ[י] אדוני הזקן המיוקר חרה אפו בעבור כי שכנתי ביניכם
9 וכאשר שמעתי דבריו אמרתי בלבי כי אולי הכבדתי עליהם
10 כי כל יום ויום עומד לפניהם ונקצר רוח אדוני ממני או
11 שמע בעבור שירורותי מיום שנכנסתי במקום ה[זה] וחרה
12 לו בשיכנותי ביניהם· ושמתי לבי שאלך אל ארצי ואל
13 מולדתי ומשפחתי ומפיל תחינתי לפני אדוני הזקן השר
14 המיוקר שיעשה שאלתי שבעבורה ירדתי אל המקום
15 הזה כי אין הנה מי שעשה חסד עימי ולא שילם לי חלופו
16 זולתך כי חסדך נשאר עלי שלם ועוד הוספת ותוסיף בזה
17 הדבר ויהיה לך שכר בזה ובבא· והוא שתקח ל[עבד]ך ברוב
18 חכמתך כתב כי אפחד שלא ישיגני בדרך כאשר השיגני

---

[1] Read perhaps: [בר]ל ע[הכ] שהבאתי אתי [מה] זולת, "except what I brought with me. All is gone."

[2] See No. XXXI, note 11.

[3] שירורותי for שְׁרִירוּתִי, "stubbornness," or שְׁרוּתִי "service" (?).

Genizah Fragment 32

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

As the context shows, hardly more than one line has been lost between XXXI and XXXII.

Tobiah has become a burden to the Egyptian community through his failure to support himself. He desires to return to his home, somewhere in the "Roman Empire," and asks Abraham to give him a letter which will protect him from molestation.

1 to go to and fro and get a living; but I came here for another reason.
2 And I remained a whole year [engaged] in the business of my honored Master. But I have not beheld
3 any profit through the work of my hands. Yet I have not stood before any man to beg
4 of him support; nor have I begged of [any] man; nor has any man given me
5 [anything,] from time out of mind except.....[1]
6 in this place. And God knows how we lived—three persons—all
7 the year, burdened [with] the need of sustenance. And Abū[2] al-Faraj... .....told me
8 that my Lord, the honored Elder, was angry because I have dwelt among you.
9 And when I heard his words, I said to myself that perhaps I had become a burden to them.
10 For day after day I stand before them; and my Lord's patience is exhausted; or
11 he has heard(?) about my stubbornness(?)[3] from the day when I became a member of the community in this place; and he became angry
12 at my dwelling among them. And I made up my mind to go to my own country and to
13 my birth-place and my kindred; and [I am] placing my petition[4] before my Lord, the Elder, the honored Prince,
14 that he perform my request, on account of which I came down to this place.
15 For here there is no one who has been gracious to me, or requited me [with good]—Quite the contrary[5]!—
16 save only you. For your favor has remained for me perfect[6]; and you have even added and will add [favor] in this
17 matter. And you will have a reward in this and in the coming world. And [my request is] that you prepare for [me,] your servant in the abundance(?)
18 of your wisdom, a letter. For I fear that [evil] may overtake[7] me on the way, even as it overtook[7] me

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4 תְּהִנָּתִי. 5 חִלּוּפוֹ. 6 שָׁלֵם. 7 הִשִּׂיגַנִי, יַשִּׂיגֵנִי.

19 בְּחָנֵם ולולי רחמי שדי וחסד אדוני הזקן המכובד הייתי היום
20 בבית הכלא ובימים ההם היה בידי ונתתי שוחד אבל ב[א]לה
21 הימים אין בידי מאומה ועל זה מפיל תחינתי לפני אדוני
22 שיעשה עם עבדו חסד ולא יניחהו שיאבד כי עבדך יגדיל
23 ויפאר שם אדוני הזקן שׂשׂ בכל מה שעשה עמי וע[ם כ]ל אדם
24 בכל קהילות ארץ אדום הקרובות והרחוקות ואתקן שיני
25 וחמישי שיברכו לאדוני המכובד בבתי כנסיות · ומאת צורי
26 המשאל שיסיר ממנו כל מחלה וכל גזרה רעה כל לא תאונה וגו

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[8] Probably the modern Henassīyeh near Benisueif. See Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. 206.

[9] See No. XXXI, line 14.

[10] I.e. the Roman Empire.

19 at Ḥānēs[8]. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today
20 in prison. In those days I had [money] in my hand, and I gave a bribe. But
21 in these days there is not in my hand anything ; and on account of this [I am] placing my petition[4] before my Lord,
22 that he may deal graciously with his servant, and not leave him to perish. For your servant will magnify
23 and glorify the name of my Lord, the Elder—May the Rock preserve him[9]!—for all that he has done for me, and for every man
24 in all the congregations of the land of Edom[10], near and far. And I will order [the] second[11]
25 and [the] fifth[11] to pronounce a blessing for my honored Lord in the synagogues. And from my Rock[9] [I shall make]
26 the request that He turn aside from him every disease, and every evil decree [of fortune:][12] even as it is written[13]: "Not shall befall".....[14]

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[11] I.e. שיני בחבורה, etc. There were the ראש, or head of the school, and the members, חברים, arranged in a certain order. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 54, 264.

[12] גזירה.

[13] כתוב כאן.

[14] Psalm xci, 10.

XXXIII. LETTER

Paper $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIV, XXXV, which it closely resembles in writing and language. All of these were possibly dictated to the same scribe by members of one community. Cf. also the similar writing in *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer), Wien 1894, opposite p. 262. Many characters are completely assimilated to one form; yet the same character may have different forms. The language shows strong foreign influence.

Recto:

1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אל שיך אלגליל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמתה
2 וכבת אעדאה מן אל מסתקר ליג כלון מן שבט רחמה אללה עליך ועלינא
3 באחסן כאתמה ויזין אליך קרב אללה אל אגתמאע אלסאר במנה וגודה אנה
4 אלי דאלך אעלם מולאי אן וצלת בעד משקת בחר ובר ווגדת אלכל עלי
5 חאל אלסלאמה נחמד אללה לאן אלאמר אלדי ביה נקול לך וכאן קל[בי]
6 משגול מנה קד צח לי דלך פאסאל מן אללה אן יוצי לי ויחסן ל[י פי]
7 מא אנא פיה אנה סמיע מגיב ומא ימכני אשרח לך אפ . . . .
8 דלך וקד אנפדה דלך אל אהל צאנהם אללה וכרגת אדכרתך וקד ית . . .
9 . . . הם וקאלו מא ציענא לה ש וראיתהם יקולו וסאפרו אליה אדא שא
10 וראית האלהם מא הו גיד מן אלצעף וקלת אלמקררה תם למא כאן יום אל
11 גמעה גא אכיך כלפי מצית מעה לביתך קאל אכרג אלי אלקמח ומא
12 בקי פיה קדרה אחתגת אן אולה חיאט ומילת אלגראבין ותעבת
13 ואללה פיהא וכרג קמחהא טיב מא פיה שי וגא יכרג אלכל מא וגד

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[1] Cf. No. XII, line 1, where the complete expression is used. For this sense of المُسْتَقِرّ see Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 319, line 6 from below.

[2] السَّارّ.

[3] Much of the difficulty of translating these letters lies in the intentional vagueness with which they were written. There was danger of their being intercepted.

[4] See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 697, col. ii, middle.

[5] Vernacular *mā ḍayya'na lōsh*. But the *-sh* is still objective; not yet adverbial as it now is.

[6] مُقَرِّرَة. [7] مَضَيْتُ.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 33 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 33 b

XXXIII. LETTER

A letter from ʿAllān(?) Ibn Yaḥyā to Abū ʿUmrān Moses Ibn Abū al-Ḥayy. The former has left the latter and gone to a distant city, whence he writes back concerning a number of business and personal matters. Both are engaged in handling miscellaneous merchandise. One is strongly reminded of II Timothy iv, 13–14.

Where the context is lost translation becomes uncertain. Interrogation marks might have been used more plentifully.

There is no date.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,
2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires[1] [after his health. Written] when 13 days of Shebhāṭ had passed. The mercy of God be upon you and upon us
3 through its most favorable termination, and make [it] acceptable to you! May God hasten the happy[2] reunion in His goodness and His abundant kindness. He is [sufficient]
4 for that. Know, my Lord, that I arrived after tribulation by sea and land, and found everything in
5 a condition of safety. We praise God that the matter, about which we told you, and about which my heart
6 was troubled—that matter has turned out rightly for me. And I ask God to direct me and prosper me in [the business]
7 in which I am [now engaged]. Verily He hears and answers. And it is not possible for me to explain[3] to you.....
8 this. And those people had already paid[4] it[3]—May God protect them!—And I went out, and [then] I remembered you. And already.....
9 their.....And they said: "We have not wasted[5] [anything] of his." And I saw them talking. And they journeyed to him when he wished.
10 And I saw their condition. It was not good, on account of weakness and insufficient nourishment[6]. Then, when it was
11 Friday, your brother came, after I [had come]. I went[7] with him to your house. He said: "Bring out to me the grain." But there was no
12 strength left in him [for such a task]. I needed first of all a tailor[8]. And I turned the sacks on their sides, and I worked hard,
13 by Allah, at it. And that[9] grain poured out [of the sacks in] good [condition]. There was[10] not anything [the matter with it]. But he went to work and hauled out the whole business. [And still] he didn't find

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[8] This line is in very bad Arabic. أَنْ is used for إِلَى. أَوَّلَهُ intervenes. חיאט (?) should be ביאט. גראבין as an "outer plural" of جِرَاب does not exist except for the foreigner. One can only guess the sense: He tore his clothes, working (?).

[9] I.e. "the grain of those sacks."

[10] Vernacular *mā fīh shē*. But the *-shē* is still subjective; not yet adverbial. Cf. note 5.

14 פי אלגראב שי חט דכרת פי כתאבך אן תכרג להם גראבין מן אלגדיד
15 יכלטוהא קאלו לא תכרג לנא שי חתי יפרג האדי וקד דפעת להם ניף
16 דינ/ ואנא נדפע להם אלניף דינ/ אלתאני כמא דכרת וכאטרת אביך
17 פי דכאן אלשיך אבי אלחבן עלי אלמצחף אלנבי אלגיד אלדי לך וקאל
18 מא קדרת לאן פיה יקראו אלצביאן וקאל קד כתבת לה פיה פאן ביחל עליך
19 דלך ואלי תכתב אלי ואכדה מנה שא ואבא וקד קלת להם אדא
20 ביצתם אלגזל ועמלתם אלרדנה תאכדו מא יקום בכם לנסאגה
21 ואל רקאמה וקד קאל לי אביך אן כתבת לה בגמיע שרח אלאשיא אלשב
22 מא וצל מנה שי והיך קום דינ/ ונין ועצת עליהם לעל אללה
23 ינבאע מנהם שי ואנא מא נפרט פי דלך אלקפה אלניל קד וצל
24 יומי האדה קאפלה תאניה פיהא ק קפה ומא הי תנבאע הנא פאן
25 כאן לך ניה תכתב אלי איש נעמל לך פיהא ואן אכתרת נקסמהא אנא
26 אפעל דלך אל דנא/ אלדי תרכת מעך אכרגה עני מנהא ד/ דנא/
27 ותאכד מנהא חק אלנביד אלדי לך ענדי ותרפע אלבאקי לי אברהם
28 אל[ק]לעי בעד אן תאכד לי מנהא

Verso:

1 בנצף דינ/ סכר וברניה ורד מרבה ל אל שיך אבי יצחק יכון פיהא ד
ארטאל
2 לאני סאלתה פיהא אל סנבל מצית ביה אלסוק ערצאן פי דכאן בניאם

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[11] Here he avoids the plural entirely. Cf. note 8.

[12] قَطْ?

[13] Cf. note 8.

[14] Palestinian vernacular form.

[15] Not נין, see line 22.

[16] The Maghribī vernacular form.

[17] خَاطَرَ ordinarily means "to bet with someone about."

[18] אכיך for אכוך. Not an error, for it occurs in line 11 also.

[19] מצחף אלנביאים?

[20] Vernacular *in bīḥill ʿalēk.*

[21] Dele ואלי. [22] אלי.

[23] See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 549.

[24] Confusion between بجميع الاشياء and شرح الاشياء, resulting probably from interruptions in dictation.

[25] Palestinian vernacular *hēk* for هٰكَذَا.

14 in the sack[s][11] anything [wrong] at all[12]. You said in your letter: "If you bring out for them sacks[13] of the new [grain],
15 they will mix them up [with sacks of old grain." To this] they replied: "Do not bring out to us anything until this[14] [old] is exhausted." And I paid them more than[15]
16 a dīnār. But I[16] will pay them the second dīnār and more[15] as you directed. And I risked[17] asking your brother[18],
17 in the shop of the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥabn(?), about the good manuscript copy of the Prophets[19] which belongs to you. And he said:
18 "I haven't been able to [give it up], because the boys read in it." And he said [further that] you had already written to him about it. So, if it is permitted[20] you [to do]
19 this[21], write to me, and I will take it away from him, willing or unwilling. And I said to them: "When
20 you have bleached the yarn and finished reeling it, take whatever you can get among yourselves for weaving [it]
21 and for[22] embroidering it[23]." And your brother[18] said to me that you had written to him an explanation of everything[24]. [As for] the alum:
22 None of it has arrived, and so[25] prices[26] [are] a dīnār and a half; and I have offered [mine] for sale to them. Perhaps, by Allah!
23 some of [the things] will be sold[27]; and in [doing] that I shall not forget[16] the basket. [As for] the indigo: There has arrived
24 today a second caravan, in which are 100 baskets; and they were not sold here. So if
25 you have the inclination, write to me what[28] I should do for you in the matter. And if they are too much we can divide them. I
26 will do that. [As for] the dīnārs which I left with you: Subtract (it[29]) from my[30] [credit by taking] from[30] them four dīnārs.
27 And take from them the value of the wine of yours which I have; and turn over the balance to Rabbi Abraham
28 al-Ḳala'ī(?)[31], after you have bought for me from it

Verso:

1 for half a dīnār sugar, and a pot of candied roses[32] for(?) the Sheikh Abū Isaac, in which there are four roṭls;
2 because I asked him about [that point. As to] the spikenard[33]: I took it to the Market: by chance[34] into the shop of Banyās(?),

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[26] Perhaps קים, قِيَم, plural of قِيمَة.

[27] لَعَلّ يُنْبَاع.

[28] Vernacular. [29] Redundant.

[30] عَنْ of the person, مِنْ of the thing.

[31] The same as No. XXXIV, l. 7. [32] Or "saffron."

[33] *Andropogon nardus*, or *nardus Celtica*. See Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1899 p. 331.

3 אבו אלפרנאס סוי מבֿין אלי וקיה דינאר ותלת ולם נביעהא אחב אן
4 תעלמה בדלך פאן אכתאר אן יביעהא יפעל מא יראה וצאחבהא מחתאג/
5 אלי כֿרובה וקד עז עלי תופי אל וליד אלדי כאן ענדה אללה תעאל יכלף
עלי
6 קלבה וקד קלת לה אנא נקרצֿך אן ענדי דינאר חתי יצל כתאב אלרגל פלא
7 תגֿטט ענה ואל חואיג אלדי תרכת[הא] ביתך לא תפרט פיהא ואלקראב
8 אלדי לשראב לא תפרט לי פיה ואל סלה לעל תנפדהא לי צֿחבה ר׳ אברהם
9 אעלמת מולאי דלך ותרא עני מולאי אלשיך אבו יצחק בן טיבאן וולדה
10 אלסלאם ואלשיך אבו עלי בן סלמאֿן אלסלאם ואל שיד אבי אלחסן יראך
אלסל
11 ולא יכון בד מן כתאבך ואחב מן תפצלך אן תקרא עלי מולאי שר השרים
סלאמי
12 ותבסט עדרי ענה לאני גֿאני אלסכרגה ולם נמצי אליה ולם נגֿתמע
13 ביה וקד אלתֿית אן נסאלך פי דלך ולא [תג]פל ויצלני דלך פי כתאבך
ושלום וקד
14 סאלת הלאל אלאטרובלסי ען אל גונה אלדי תרכהא ענדה אברהם פקאל
לי מעי
15 תדכרה חתי יכרגֿהא ונערפך ואנא נגֿעלה יכרגֿהא ונכתב אליך בדלך
ושלום.

Address:

[ל]מולאי אלשיך אבי עמראן מוסי בן אבי אלחי נֿע שארה עלאן בן יחיי נע/
אטאל אללה בקאה וא[רא]ם תאידה ו[נע]מתֿ[ה]

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[34] عَرَضًا ?

[35] وِقِيَّة, 1.32 oz. avoirdupois. See Baedecker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. ii.

[36] يُخْلِف. [37] نَقْرِضك. [38] تُجَظّ ?

[39] Egyptian vernacular. [40] Incorrect plural of قِرْبَة.

[41] I.e. ותקרא, with על omitted. Cf. No. IX, many times. The ק has been omitted here and in line 10 because it has become a hamzah, as in modern vernacular.

[42] See No. XIII, *verso*, line 45.

3 the father of the parnās. It was worth evidently(?) up to a dīnār and a third the wiḳīyah[35]. So I[16] didn't sell it. I desire that
4 you inform him of that; and if he prefers to sell it, let him do what he thinks best. And the owner of it has reason
5 to be concerned(?). And the death of the boy who lived with him affected me deeply. May God the Exalted recompense[36]
6 his heart! And I said to him: "I[16] will lend[37] you—I have a dīnār [for you]—until the man's letter arrives." But
7 do not be concerned[38](?) about him. And [as for] the things[39] which I left [at] your house: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the water-skins[40]
8 which [are] for drinking-water: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the basket: Perhaps you will send it to me in the care of Rabbi Abraham.
9 [So] I have informed my Lord of this. And give my greetings[41] [to] my Lord the Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn Ṭayyibān[42], and his son.
10 And the Sheikh 'Alī Ibn Salmān(?) and the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan send[41] you greetings[43].
11 And you will surely have to write. And I would like, if you please[44], to have you give my greetings to my Lord the Prince of Princes[45],
12 and to present my apologies for [the circumstance] that the saucer reached me, and I[16] did not go to him, nor did I[16] meet
13 him. And I have bothered [you] to ask[46,16] about that; and do not be heedless, but let [news of its accomplishment] reach me in your [next] letter. So farewell! And
14 I asked Hilāl[47] al-Atrūblusī[48] about the leather box which Abraham left at his house; and he said to me: "I have it."
15 Remind him to bring it. And I[16] will let you know [if he fails], and make[16] him bring it, and write[16] to you about that. So farewell!

Address:

[To] my Lord the Sheikh Abū 'Umrān Moses, son of Abū al-Ḥayy[49], whose rest [is in] Eden.....
God lengthen his life and continue his safety and prosperity!
[From] 'Allān, son of Yaḥyā, whose rest [is in] Eden.

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[43] I.e. יקראך אלסלאם.

[44] مِنْ تَفَضُّلك. [45] Hebrew.

[46] Vernacular *altēt*, for classical أَلْتَمْتُ.

[47] "new moon." [48] "of Tripoli."

[49] A certain Abū al-Ḥayy was still alive but suffering from some skin disease, when lines 8–10, No. III, *verso* were written.

XXXIV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

Both the language and the writing are similar to those of Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, and XXXV; and what has before been said need not here be repeated. On the *recto* the scribe uses some care; but he grows more careless, and on the *verso* his slovenliness is extreme.

Recto:

1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אלשיך אלאגל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמאה
2 וכבת אעדאה מן אלמסתקר לך מן שבט כתמה אללה עלי מולאי באחסן
כאמה
3 אעלמך יא מולאי אן כרגתם כתר אללה סלאמתכם ונאלנא מן והשתכם מא
4 אללה יעלמה וכל מן פי אלבית ואמא נהרי ולדי אחיאה אליך תכלק
עלינא
5 ויקול מתא יגי רבנו ואבו סעד ויקול אדיוני ענדנא ואלי אלסעה נחן
נקולו לה
6 הם פי אל כניסיה אסעה יגו וכאנת קלובנא בכם משגולה כיף כאן וצאלכם
7 אלי אן וצל יום אלכמים באל עשי ר אברהם אל קלעי ואל כהן ואעלמונא
בוצאלכם
8 עלי גמלת אל סלאמה פחמדנא אללה וסאלנאה תמאם באחסאן פאחב
9 מנך יא מולאי סאעה וצולך סאלם אן שא אללה אלי סאלמין תעלמני
בוצולכם
10 אלי קראכם ואחמד אללה עלי דלך וכל מן פי אסכדריה מן אצהאבנא
11 ברוכים יהיו מתוחשין לצפרכם דאעיון לכם אללא יתקבל פיכם אלדעוה
12 אל צאלחה ולא ישתתכם ולא יששתנא ען אוטאננא ותעלמני יא מולאי

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[1] See XXXIII, note 1. The opening formulae of the two letters are almost identical.

[2] Read כאתמה.

[3] Vernacular *nallána* for نَالَ لَنَا.

[4] "Since you have gone God only knows how we have missed you."

[5] Aramaic.

[6] Hebrew.

[7] אדיוני, if not a mistake, represents a childish pronunciation.

[8] الساعة.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 34 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 34 b

XXXIV. LETTER

A letter from Nathan Ben Nahrāi, in Alexandria, to Nahrāi Ben Nissīm, head of the Babylonian community in Fusṭāṭ (See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248), who is temporarily in Malīj(?). The addressee and a certain Abū Sa'd have recently visited the writer in Alexandria.

Translation is difficult at times, because the writer's constructions were mixed in his own mind before they reached the paper.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the most glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,

2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires[1] [after his health. Written] when 20 [days] of Shebhāṭ [had passed]. May God complete [the month] for my Lord with the best [sort] of completion[2]!

3 I inform you, O my Lord: Behold you have gone—God increase your health!—and we have had[3] [in the way of] bereavement of you what

4 God [only] knows[4]. And everyone in the household [feels likewise]. And as for Nahrāi[5], my [little] boy—[God] preserve his life to you!—he is angry with us;

5 and says: "When will our Rabbi[6] come, and Abū Sa'd?" And he says: "Is the 'dentleman'[7] here?" And up to now[8] we have been saying to him:

6 "They are in the synagogue[9]. They are coming directly[8]." And we worried [about] how you arrived,

7 until Thursday at evening Rabbi Abraham al-Ḳala'ī[10] and the Kōhēn arrived, and informed us of your arrival

8 with all safety. And we praised God and asked Him for a completion [of your plans] with [His] benevolence. And I desire

9 of you, O my Lord, when you arrive safely, if God will, among [your people who are likewise] safe, that you inform me of your arrival

10 at your place of residence; and I shall praise God for that. And everyone in Alexandria[11], from among our friends

11 —May they be blessed[6]!—is grieved at your departure[12], praying[13] God for you [that He will] grant of you the pious prayer,

12 and not scatter you nor scatter[14] us from our native cities. And inform me, O my Lord,

---

[9] See No. XXVII, note 32. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 493.

[10] See No. XXXIII, *recto*, line 28.

[11] אסכנדריה. [12] צ for ס.

[13] Vernacular form.

[14] יישתנא.

13 פי כתאבך אן כאן ננפד לך אלגאריה אלי מליג כמא קררת מעה
14 ואן כאן ענדך פיהא ראי גיר דלך לאני מעול עלי אנפאדהא אליך בעד
וצול
15 כתאבך בדלך

Verso :

1 וכדאלך ..... מא סאלת חצרתך פי אלאגתמאע מע אלשיך אבו
אלמפצל פי מא
2 יתעלק באל ליאן למלי ינעאק עלי תוגיהה ומא כתבתה לך פי אל
תדכרה אעלמת
3 מולאי דלך תכתין אפצל אלסלאם למולאי אל שיך אבו סעד
סלמהאלאאלמה ומולאי
4 אלשיך אבו אל חסן יחצה באלסלאם ווליה נהראי ולדי יקבל ידה ויכצה
אל סלאם ולאברהם
5 אלערוס יכין חצרתה בלסלאם ומן ענדנא סגיר וכביר ויקבלו חצרתה
ויכצוה בלם
6 ויסאלה לא ינסאנא מן דעוה צאלחה ושלום וחיים טובים אמן ונחבך לא
תקטענא ושלום

Address :

1 חצרה מולאי החבר גדול [הי]שיבה מחבהא ושאכרהא נתן בן
נהראי נע
2 רבנו נהראי ביר נסים זל
3 אטאל אללה בקאהא ואדאם עזהא

---

15 Maghribī form.

16 See *Yāḳūt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. iv, p. 639, But near which Maḥallah ?

17 Omission or inadvertent change of construction : בְּאַן .. לְאַן לְמַוְלַאי.

13 in your [next] letter whether I[15] shall send you the female slave to Malīj[16] as I agreed with him,
14 or whether you have in regard to her another opinion, for I had made up my mind to send her to you after the arrival of
15 your letter in regard to that [matter];

Verso:

1 and so.....I did not ask your Excellency about the meeting with the Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal concerning the matter which
2 depends upon the[17] — because my Lord was prevented from sending him[18]; and I did not write it to you in the memorandum. I have informed
3 my Lord of this. [Please] give [my] most distinguished salutations especially[19] to my Lord the Sheikh Abū Sa'd[20].....[21], and my Lord
4 the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Isaac, with greetings, and his parents[22]. Nahrāi, my boy, kisses his hand, and sends him special greetings. And to Abraham,
5 the bridegroom, his Excellency, he sends especial greetings. And so do we, great and small, kiss his Excellency and send him especial greetings,
6 and beg him not to forget us, by way of a pious wish. So, Peace and good health, Amen[6]! And we wish you not to cut us off. Farewell[6]!

Address:

[To] his Excellency, my Lord, the Ḥābēr, the Great One of the Yashībhah, our Rabbi Nahrāi, son of Rabbi Nissīm[23]. May God prolong his[24] life and continue his[24] strength!

[From] his[24] affectionate and grateful Nathan, son of Nahrāi, whose rest [is in] Eden.

---

[18] The same person as in *recto*, line 13?

[19] تَخْتَصّ. [20] See *recto*, line 5.

[21] Is this a twice unsuccessful attempt to write אלסלאם?

[22] וואלדיה.

[23] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248.

[24] ה = ـُ-. Cf. No. 11, note 25.

XXXV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII and XXXIV, which this fragment resembles in writing and language. Although the hand is careless, it is not quite so bad as that of the other fragments mentioned; and some of the characters have a different form. The language also is better. *Verso* bears earlier Arabic writing.

Recto:

1 כתאבי יסידי ומולאי וריסי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם עזך סלך צפר ען
סלאמה

2 ואלחמד ללה רב אל עאלמין וכאן קד וצל אל חאיך אלי הונה וסט אלעיד
וגאתני

3 רסאלה בוצולה וכרגת אליה ואוצל כתאבך אלמחּשי אעדאר קד כאן הו

4 אשטר מני ראי אנך מתואני ואנת תריד מן יגיך אלי דכאנך עלם [א]ן

5 חאגה לא תנקצי לה ולא לי פמצי הו בנפסה אלי בן אלבצרי ודפע אליה אל

6 כז דינר ונצף עלי ל קצבה דפע אליה יום קבצה אלדנניר ה קצבאת תם

7 אסתגד אל באקי קליל וקליל ותכלין ולם יערפך כמא עמל בל ידאפעך

8 כמא קד דכרתה פליתהּ ערפך וכנת תמצי מעה פכאן הו ית · רדּ אליה

9 ויאכד כל יום וכל וקת מא סהל חתי תנקצי אל חאגה ואמא אלקעוד

10 מתי אתפק לך פרגה ונשטה מצית אליה מצי·מן לא ישתרי

11 שי אלא יד ביד וקד כנא אנא ואנת אול מא עאמלנאה מא וגדנא ענדה

12 אלא ניף ען ל קצבה ודפענא אל ק דינר ואסתופית קליל וקליל פלו כנת
דפעת

13 אליה אלדנניר מן וקת וצולה וקאל לך תצבר שהר לכאן אנגצך פי אקרב

14 וקת ליכנך פעלת אנת פעל מן יכאף יכרג אלדאר מן ידה פלא יעוד

---

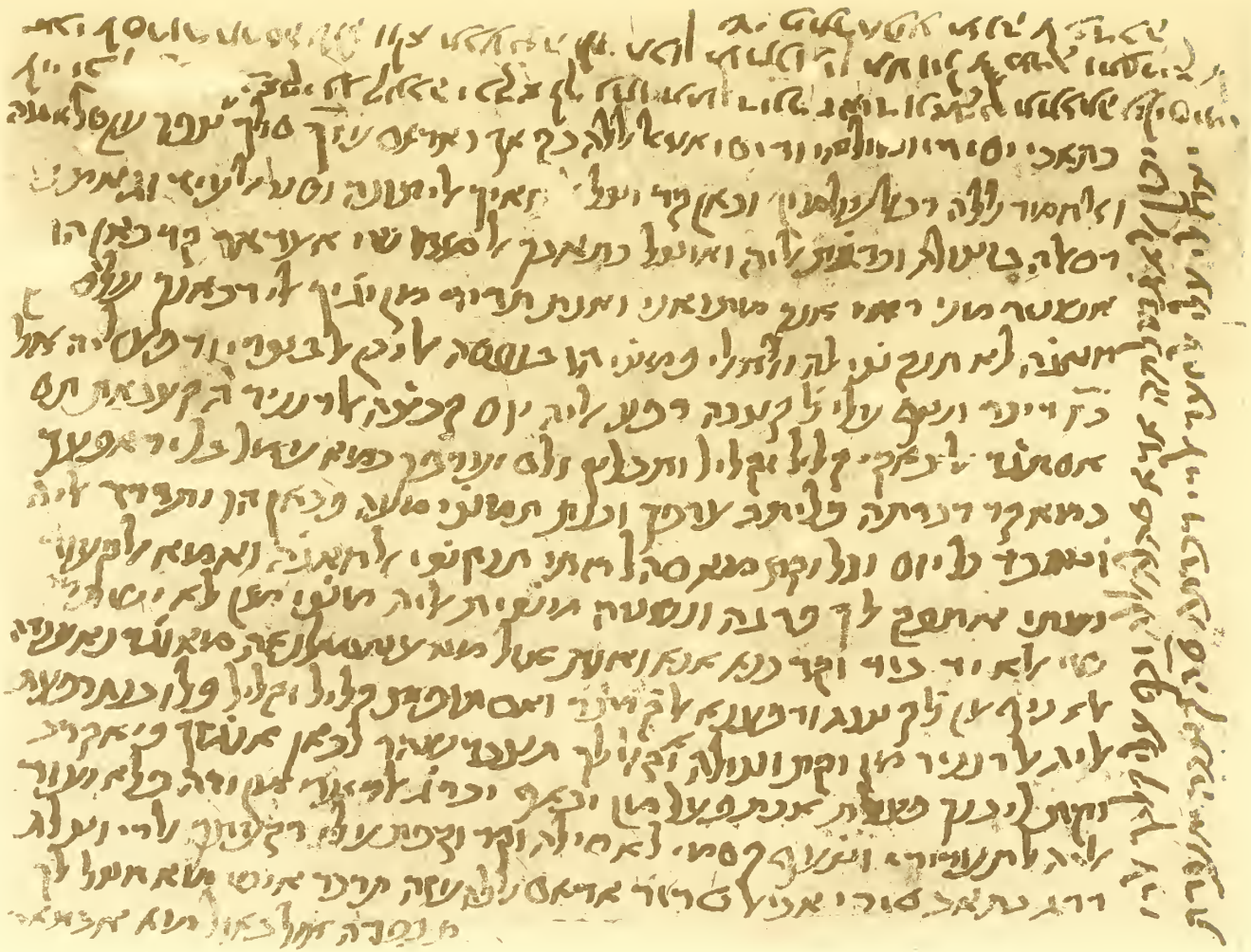
[1] Koran, Sūrah i, *v.* 1. [2] هُنَا.

[3] Vernacular. Literally: "He was cleverer than I."

[4] Vernacular. [5] al-Būṣīrī? [6] A ḳaṣabah = about 11 ft. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

[7] Vernacular *dánanīr*.

[8] The missing letter is perhaps a deleted ד. The form was then *yitrádd*, Egyptian vernacular for يَرْتَدّ.



Genizah Fragment 35 a

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 35 b

XXXV. LETTER

Two men, both Jews, have for more than forty years engaged in business together; one of them, the writer of this letter, travelling about, the other remaining at home, as indeed was often the case in partnerships. They handled general merchandise, but especially cloth. They advanced money to weavers, and took the cloth as it was produced.

The writer now complains of his partner's inertia and timidity, and of his own exertions and losses: perhaps merely the business usage of the time.

Recto:

1 [This is] my letter [to you], O my Lord and Master and Chief. May God prolong your life, and continue your strength! [The month of] Ṣafar has come in peace;

2 and praise belongs to God, the Lord of the Worlds[1]! The weaver has arrived here[2] in the midst of the Festival, and a letter

3 has come to me through his arrival. I went out to [meet] him, and he delivered your letter, stuffed with excuses. [You write:] "He has

4 taken advantage of me[3]." My opinion is that you are shiftless, and want people to come to *you* in your shop. He knew that

5 nothing[4] would be done for him or for me [through you]; so, he went to Ibn al-Baṣrī[5] in person, and [the latter] paid him the

6 twenty-seven dīnārs and a half on 30 ḳaṣabahs[6]. He delivered to [the latter] on the day when he received the dīnārs[7], 5 ḳaṣabahs [of cloth]. Then

7 he did the same thing with the rest [of the cloth], little by little, and at last it was finished. And he did not tell you how he was getting along. On the contrary, he kept putting you off,

8 as I have said. If he had only told you, and you had gone along with him! But he went back[8] to [Ibn al-Baṣrī[5]],

9 and [the latter] took every day and each time what was convenient, until the business[4] was settled. And as for sitting idle:

10 [Tell me,] when have relief and joy[9] ever come to you by chance? You went to [the weaver] as one goes who does not buy

11 anything except for cash[10]. Now, you and I, the first time we did business with him, found [that] he had no

12 more than a little in excess of 30 ḳaṣabahs. Yet we paid the 100 dīnārs, and you got all the rest [of the cloth] little by little. But if *you* had paid

13 him the dīnārs[7] at the time of his arrival, and he had said to *you* "Wait a month," it would have troubled you in a very short

14 time, because *you*[11] would have acted as one who fears that the house will walk away under one's very eyes, so that the profit does not

---

[9] نَشَاطَة? [10] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 849. [11] لِكَوْنِكَ?

15 אליה אלתעדיד וצעף קסמי לא חילה וקד וקפת עלי רקעתך אלדי וצלת
16 דרג כתאב סידי אבי אלסרור אדאם אללה עזה תדכר איש מא חצל לך
17 תנפדה אול באול מא אכתאר

Margin: (*a*)

יכון אלא גמלתה אדא סהלה אללה וכף עלי קלבך אלדי | יצח לי עלי
אלסעד אלדי דכרתה סה קצבה אנפדה

Margin: (*b*)

אליי יכ[ון...א]לבאקי נג קצבה יבקא לך נחו תמן דינר זאיד ונאקץ תתבתה
עלי סידי | אבי אלסרור חרסה אללה ולא תבעצה לי תכון מתבתין תטויל
אל מדה ותפריק אל | שי פתרתפע מנה אל ברכה

Verso:

1 לו כאנת מעי אלף דינר ותאכד לי מנהא דל קדר הדה אלמדה כלהא
לקד כאן
2 ותר פי חאלי סימא צעלוך תחת תעדיד ואליו הוא נושא את נפשו הדא
3 קסמי לי פי צחבתך ניף עלי מ סנה תערף גירי ירד שהאדתי לי כל וקת עלי
4 מעני וכתרת מקאסאתי ללאספאר פי
5 הדא אלעמר ותפצלת וועדת וקלת לא תתענא ותקאסי אלבר ואלבחר פי כל
6 קדר אנפד אליי מא שית פאני אקום לך בשראה ואנפאדה פעולת עלי קולך
7 פלם יסאעדני קסמי לים חילה תתפצל ימולאי ותחצל לי הדה אלכג קצבה
8 ותנפדהא מגתמעא לא
9 מקטעה מנעמה
10 אן שא אללה וחסבי אללה וחדה

1 لسيد بو سعد... ابن ابى سلامه بن على بن المصرى من اسرائيل بن اسرايل بن دانيال
2 اطال الله بقاه وادام..... الفسطاط
3 ..... اعز الله
4 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
5 وصل كتاب حضرة مولاى القاضى الامام اطال الله بقاه وادام عزه
6 وكبت عدوه واباد حاسده

---

12 Hebrew.
13 Cf. Egyptian vernacular *dilwaḳt.*
14 Hebraism.
15 Hebrew. Deut. xxiv, 15.
16 "in this age."
17 عَنِيَ) تَتَعَنَّ V. jussive) and مُعْنٍ) مُعْنِيَّ + ى).

15 return to him. My share has decreased—no deception [about it]. And I have called attention to your epistle, which has arrived at the [same] moment [as]
16 the letter of my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God continue his strength!— You say: "What[4] has happened[4] to you?"
17 Send first of all what he prefers:

Margin: (a)

Let it be [anything] except the whole of it. When God has made it easy [to do so], and you are not worried about what I am entitled to from al-Sa'd—[the matter] which I mentioned: 65 ḳaṣabahs—send it

Margin: (b)

to me. Let the remainder, 53 ḳaṣabahs....., remain yours—about the value of a dīnār, more or less. Charge it against my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God protect him!—and do not divide it with me. Let the two [things] agreed upon be: extension of the term, and distribution of the thing. So there will arise from it a blessing[12].

Verso.

1 If I had had a thousand dīnārs, and you had taken this[13] amount [from] me for all this length of time, the
2 ruin in my condition would have been like [the ruin of] a beggar, instead of[14] profit: "And upon it he setteth his heart[15]." This [has been]
3 my lot in partnership [with] you [during] more than 40 years. You know others besides me who will bear out my testimony at any time as to
4 my bitter toil[17] and the greatness of my patience to [undertake] journeys
5 at my age[16]. You were most kind to promise and say: "Do not distress[17] yourself and endure [hardship] on[18] land and sea without
6 limit. Send me whatever you like, and I will see to selling it and sending it off for you." So I relied upon your word.
7 But my share did not help me—no deception [about it]. Be so good, my Lord, and let me have 23 ḳaṣabahs.
8 And send them together; not
9 cut up, chopped up—
10 if it please God. God only is my sufficiency!

In Arabic letters[19]*:*

1 To the Sayyid Bū Sa'd.....Ibn Abū Salāmah Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Maṣrī. From Israel Ibn Israel Ibn Daniel.
2 May God lengthen his life and continue..... Fusṭāṭ.
3 ..... May God strengthen!
4 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate[20]!
5 The letter of his Excellency my Lord the Kadi the Imām has arrived. May God lengthen his life and prolong his strength
6 and confound his enemy, and destroy him who envies him!

---

[18] אל for *'āl*, Egyptian vernacular for ..عَلَى آلْ.

[19] Extremely uncertain. [20] Muslim formula.

XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

Paper $10\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, distinctly written and well preserved. Decipherment would be easy, were it not for the peculiar nature of the contents.

On the *verso* are notes, in another hand, like that of No. XVIII, and apparently in Arabic; but they are badly written and badly preserved. The words "gold" and "silver" can occasionally be made out.

Recto:

בשמ׳

1 חסאב אלשיך אבו אל אפראח ערוסה יוסף

2 לך מעי יא סיידי עדל ארגואן אלוזן דקנאטיר

3 ונצף ורבע׳ אלסער יד אלקנטר אלתמן סו

4 די׳ ורבע׳ ולה נצף ורבע די׳ שדאד וחבל ונטע

5 ולה ה דנא׳ ברסם אלמאונה אלגומלה עב׳ ד׳

---

6 אלדי כרג מאונה ען דלך חמל אלמרכב א

7 ברטיל ללבחרין א׳ ואגב צנאעה נצף די׳

8 כתם וגהבדה ועלאמה רקעה ומא אנצרף

9 לאבו מחמד תמן די׳׳ מעאדרה א ונצף

10 עתאלין ב ונצף׳ ספוד רבע׳ אמין תמן

---

11 מא אנצרף פי רשיד אוגרה מרכב תמן די׳

12 ואגב רבע וסדס וחבה׳ שכין א׳ סאחל

13 רבע׳ מקיד נצף ותמן׳ כבז ללגמאל וללמחארם

14 רבע ותמן׳ מועדייה א׳ ג מחארם נצף ורבע

---

[1] ברוך שם המפורש = בשמ׳.

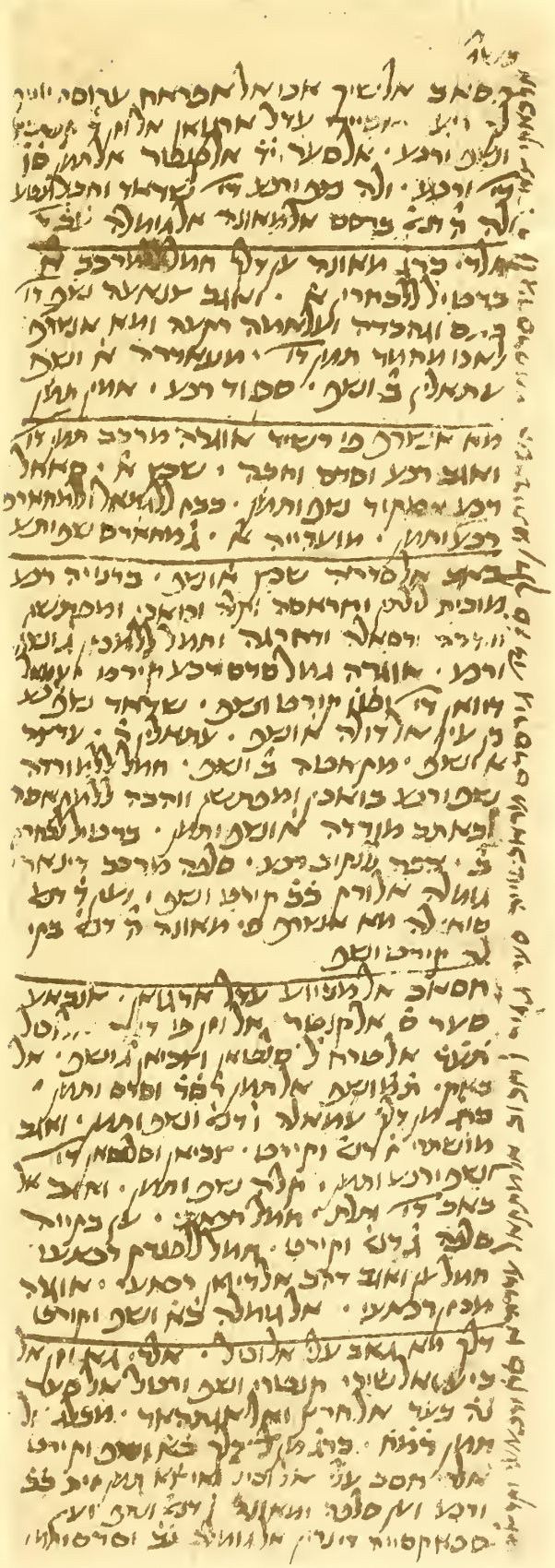
[2] I.e. "three-quarters." All fractions, except two-thirds, were expressed in Egypt by unit-fractions. Thus $\frac{7}{8}=\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{8}$. See L. C. Karpinski, *The History of Mathematics*, 1925, p. 121.

[3] Context seems to demand these renderings of سِعْر and ثَمَن.

[4] I.e. "you."

[5] Without the article and with חבל this word must mean some commodity viewed collectively, though there is no authority for this rendering.

[6] Cf. the plural of this word in a similar accounting, No. XIV, *verso b*, line 3.



XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

This is an account rendered by some unnamed person to Abū al-Afrāḥ ʻArūsah Joseph. No dates nor places are named.

Many different sorts of expenses, charges, officials and commodities are mentioned. One cannot be sure of the meaning of such contemporary technical terms. Also, the amounts are not always followed by the name of the coin. If the dīnār were everywhere assumed, the sums would often be too large.

Recto:

Blessed be the Name[1]!

1 Account of the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ ʻArūsah Joseph:
2 You have in my keeping, Sir, a bale of purple [goods], the weight [of which is] 4 ḳinṭārs
3 and a half and a quarter[2], the [purchase] price[3] [of which is] 14 the ḳinṭār, [and] the value[3] [of which is] 66
4 dīnārs and a quarter. And he[4] has a half and a quarter[2] dīnār['s worth of] twine[5] and rope and leather matting[6].
5 And he[4] has five dīnārs[' worth of] clover [for] the provisioning[7] [of the animals], the sum total [being] 72 dīnārs[8].

---

6 What is deducted [for] provisioning from this: Ship's porterage, 1.
7 Pourboires for the sailors, 1. Obligation of the craft[9], a half dīnār.
8 [Fee for] seal, and revenue-tax[10], and [for] signature [on] papers, and what was paid
9 to Abū Muḥammad: an eighth of a dīnār. Apology[11], one and a half.
10 Porters, two and a half. Spit[11], a quarter. Inspector, an eighth.

---

11 What was expended in Rosetta: Ship's hire, an eighth of a dīnār.
12 Obligation[9], a quarter and a sixth, and a ḥabbah[12]. [One] person, 1. Sea-shore[11],
13 a quarter. Registrar, a half and an eighth[2]. Bread for the camel-driver and for the women[13],
14 a quarter and an eighth. Ferry[14], 1. Three women[13], a half and a quarter.

---

[7] بَرْسِيم المَؤُونَة.

[8] $66\frac{1}{4}+\frac{3}{4}+5=72$.

[9] Fee paid to some guild? Fee paid for the privilege of doing business?

[10] جَهْبَذَة. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 226.

[11] Plainly written common words, but evidently in some technical or cryptic sense.

[12] I.e. "grain," "trifle." This seems to be a unit of weight and a coin. Its value is uncertain.

[13] مَحَارِم plural of مَحْرَمَة. [14] مُعَدِّيَّة

15 באב אלסדריה שבין א ונצף · ברנייה רבע
16 מובית לילתין וחראסה וקלה ובואב · ומפתשין
17 ותדרה ורסאלה ודחרגה וחמל ללמכזן ג ונצף
18 ורבע · אוגרה גמל סדם ורבע קירט · עמאל
19 דיואן די׳ וטו קירט ונצף · שראד נצף ורבע
20 בן עין אלדולה א ונצף · עתאלין ה · ערצה
21 א ונצף · מקחטה ב ונצף · חמל ללמורדה
22 נצף ורבע בואבין ומפתשין ווהבה ללמקחטה
23 וכאתב מודדה א ונצף ותמן · ברטיל לבחרין
24 ב · והבה ללנקיב רבע · סלפה מרכב דינאר ·
25 גומלה אלורק כב קירט ונצף · ועין ד דנא
26 סוא לה מא אנצרף פי מאונה ה דנא׳ בקי
27 לה קירט ונצף

---

28 חסאב אלמבייע עדל ארגואן · אנבאע
29 סער ס אלקנטר אלוזן פי דיואן[ן] אלוכיל
30 תעד אלטרח ל · סלטאן וצביאן ג ונצף · אל
31 באקי תמ ונצף אלתמן רסד וסדם ותמן ·
32 כרג מן דלך עמאלה ו דנא׳ ונצף ותמן · ואגב ·
33 מושתרי ז דנא׳ וקירט · צביאן וסלטאן די׳
34 ונצף ורבע ותמן · קלה נצף ותמן · ואגב אל
35 באב די׳ ותלת · חמל רכאבי · ען בקייה
36 סלפה ג דנא׳ וקירט · חמל ללפנדק רבאעי
37 חמל ען ואגב דהב אלדיואן רבאעי · אוגרה
38 מכזן רבאעי · אלגומלה כא ונצף וקירט

---

15 Abbreviated. Or perhaps another place name.

16 Colloquial *bárānīya* for بَرَّانِيَّة.

17 مُبِيت for مَبِيت. 18 ותדכרה?

15 [At] the gate of Alexandria[15]: [One] person, one and a half. External[16],
a quarter.
16 Lodging[17] for two nights, and guard, and a water-bottle, and door-keeper,
and inspectors,
17 and ticket[18], and letter, and rolling and carrying [of bales] to the ware-
house, three and a half
18 and a quarter. Hire of camel, a sixth and a quarter ḳīrāṭ. Agent
19 of the office, a dīnār and 15 ḳīrāṭs and a half. Twine[5], a half and a
quarter.
20 [To] Ibn ʿAin al-Daulah, one and a half. Porters, 5. Exhibition,
21 one and a half. Scraper[11], two and a half. Carrying to the place of
embarkation,
22 a half and a quarter. Porters, and inspectors, and gift[19] to the scraper[11],
23 and the scribe of the place of embarkation, one and a half and an eighth.
Pourboires for sailors,
24 two. And gift[19] to the chief, a quarter. Breakfast [for] the ship['s crew],
a dīnār.
25 Total of the paper, 22 ḳīrāṭs and a half. And cash, 4 dīnārs.
26 Equalled by[20] what was spent in provisioning, 5 dīnārs. Balance
27 to his[4] credit, a ḳīrāṭ and a half.

---

28 Account of the sale[21] of the bale of purple [goods]. It was sold,
29 price 60 the ḳinṭār, the weighing in the office of the representative.
30 Four hundred and seventy-four, tribute to the Sultan; and [to] the
youths, three and a half. The
31 balance, 430 and a half. The value, 264 and a sixth and an eighth.
32 There were deducted from this: Wages, six dīnārs and a half and an
eighth. Obligation
33 of the seller[22], seven dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Youths and Sultan, a dīnār
34 and a half and a quarter and an eighth. Water-bottle, a half and an
eighth. Obligation of the
35 gate, a dīnār and a third. Hauling, a rubāʿī[23]. From the balance:
36 Breakfast, three dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Carrying to the hostelry[24], a
rubāʿī[23].
37 Favor to the gold obligation of the office, a rubāʿī. Hire of
38 place, a rubāʿī. The total: 21 and a half and a ḳīrāṭ.

---

[19] وَهْبَة for هِبَة. [20] سَوَّى لَهُ. [21] for مَبِيع [22] مُشْتَرى.

[23] I.e. a quarter of a dīnār. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 504.

[24] فُنْدُق = *πανδοχεῖον*.

39 דלך מא גאב עלי אלוכיל׳ אלדי גא וזן אל
40 ביע ואלשירי קנטרין ונצף ורטל אלסער
41 נה בעד אלחרין ואלאגתהאד׳ מבלג אל
42 תמן רמח׳ כרג מן דלך כא ונצף וקירט
43 אלדי חסב עלי אלוכיל ואיצא תמן זית כב
44 ורבע ועז סלפה ומאונה ו דנא/ ונצף׳ ועז
45 סכא קסייה דינרין אלגומלה נב וסדם ותמן

Margin:

אלבאקי צא[ר] ... גיר סדם ... אשתרית מן דלך סו די/ גיר סדם
מראכשייה סער תגיר ו חבוב אלמתקאל עדדהא סח ורבאעי וקדצ.

---

[25] شِرًى. [26] A ל has been deleted.

39 This is what the representative brought me. The result was: Weight of the
40 selling and the buying[25], two ḳinṭārs and a half and a roṭl. The price,
41 fifty-five, after being greedy and zealous. Amount of the
42 value, 248. Deducted from this[26], 21 and a half and a ḳīrāṭ.
43 What the representative charged against me, and also value of oil, 22
44 and a quarter. And in the way of breakfast and provisions, six dīnārs and a half. And in the way of
45 generosity, though hard, two dīnārs. The total, 52 and a sixth and an eighth.

Margin:

The remainder amounted to ... less a sixth.....I bought from that, 67 dīnārs less a sixth, [in] Moroccan money. Price of the exchange[27], 5 ḥabbahs[12] to the mithḳāl. The number of them was 68 and a rubā'ī and.....

---

[27] تَغْيِير or تَغَيُّر.

XXXVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{1}{8} \times 4$ inches.

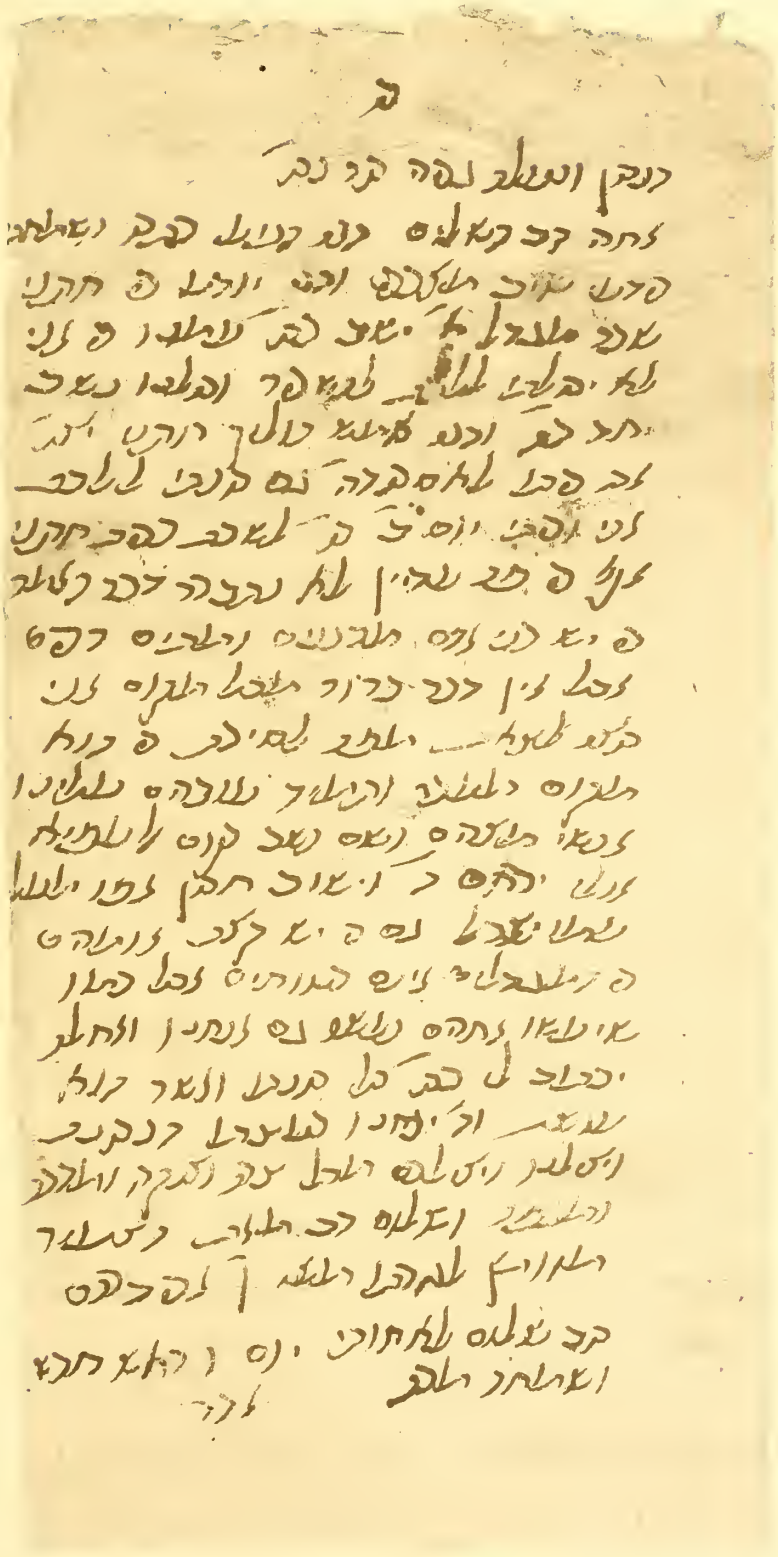
Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The language is exceptionally good. The writing, though apparently plain, gives some difficulty because of the unusual forms of some of the letters, and the way in which they are combined.

There is no date ; but the occurrence of a watermark places the fragment certainly after A.D. 1282. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. Unfortunately the watermark is indistinct.

בה׳

1 הנבון ונעלה גבירי בני כת׳
2 אחרי רוב השלום הנה הגיע כתבו ושמחתי׳
3 בידעי טוב מצבתו והנה יודע כי חתני
4 שכר מגדל א׳ ישב בה עמנו כי אני
5 לא יכולתי ללכת להשכיר וכולנו נשב
6 יחד בה והנה אמש הוליך חתני יצא
7 את ביתו אל אסכנדרי׳ גם כונתי ללכת
8 אני וביתי יום ב׳ כו׳ לשבת בבית חתני
9 אף כי פה עדיין לא נתברר דבר האמת׳
10 כי יש בני אדם מרננים ומתים רבים
11 אבל אין דבר ברור מכל מקום אני
12 רוצה לצאת מפה לסיכת כי הוא
13 מקום מעבר ותמיד עוברים עלינו
14 אנשי מצרים ושם נשב קום אלעפיא
15 אולי ירחם ה׳ וישוב חרון אפו מעל
16 עמו ישראל גם כי יש קצת אומרים
17 כי המגדלים אינם בטוחים אבל כמו
18 שיעשו אחרים נעשה גם אנחנו ואחלה
19 יכתוב לי כת׳ כל כונתו ואשר הוא
20 עושה וה׳ יניחנו בעצתו הנכונה
21 ויצילנו ויצילכם מכל צרה וצוקה ומדבר
22 ומכפן ושלום רב מאת הצעיר
23 מאמן לאהבתו משה ן אבי דרהם
24 רוב שלום לאחותי יום ו ראש חדש
25 ושמחה מבת אדר



XXXVII. LETTER

From Moses Ibn Abū Dirham, to a younger man who is unnamed.

The writer is about to leave his present place of residence, and remove to Sīkat[9], near Alexandria, where he will live with his son-in-law in a "tower." There he will be safe from the present persecution, and enjoy a prosperous business upon the highway of travel.

Blessed be the Name[1]!

O Intelligent and Exalted Sir, my Son, Crown of the Law[2]!
After many greetings[3]: His[4] letter has arrived; and I am glad
to know[5] of his[4] good condition. And know that my son-in-law[6]
has rented a[7] tower[8] to live in with us. For I
cannot go to rent [one]; so, all of us are to live
together in it. And last night my son-in-law went down
with his household to Alexandria. [It is] my intention also to go,
I and my household, Monday, the 26th, to dwell in the house of my son-in-law[6],
even though no trustworthy information has reached here as yet:
for there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—
yet there is no trustworthy information. At all events I
should like to go away from here to Sīkat[9], for it [is]
a place of passage; and [there will be] passing by us continually
people of Egypt; so that we shall dwell there like prosperous folk[10].
Perhaps God[11] will have mercy and His anger will depart from
His people Israel[12]—even though there are some who say
that the towers[8] are untrustworthy. But as
others have done, [so] we also shall do. And I hope
that he[4] will write me a letter[13] [expressing] all of his intention, and what he[4]
[is going to] do. And may God[11] give us peace with His wise counsel;
and deliver us and you from every anxiety and oppression, and from pestilence[14],
and from famine! Many greetings from [my] unimportant [self who]
rely upon his[4] love, Moses Ibn Abū Dirham[15].
Many greetings to my sister, and joy from [my] household!
Friday, first day of the month of Adar.

---

[1] ה׳ = ברוך השם. [2] ת׳כ = כתר תורה. [3] For the Arabic بعد السلام.
[4] "his" = "your," "he" = "you." [5] Inf. with ב and suffix.
[6] Or "father-in-law." [7] א׳ = אחר [8] I.e. "strongly built house"?

[9] Some place near Alexandria? Perhaps سِكَّة "road," the second element of the name being lost. [10] Arabic قوم العافية. [11] הַשֵּׁם.
[12] Numbers xxv, 4. [13] כְּתָב. [14] וּמִדָּבָר.
[15] Arabic: Abū Dirham, "the man [who collects the] dirham." On this celebrated Spanish family see the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded so as to form four pages all of which are filled with writing.

Hebrew in a large square Hebrew hand, very much effaced on three of the pages.

The original verse division has been all but lost by the copyist. On *recto* (*b*) and *verso* (*a*) it can only occasionally be discovered, but on the other two pages it is quite evident, although it is not followed.

Recto : (*b*)

1 לביתו ורש . . . . . .
2 ויאמר מלך בא [ואשל]חה [ס]פר
3 אל כל ישראל ויב[א ע]ם ה[ספר]
4 נעמן ויבא מכספ[ו ו]מזהב[ו ויהי]
5 בקרוא מלך ישראל ויקרע ב[גדיו]
6 בדאבן ויהי לסף שמו[נה ימים]
7 וישלח לו [לאמר את] יי ירא . וי[בא]
8 [נע]מן בס[וסיו] וברכבו וישלח
9 מלך רד [וטב]ול בירדן ואלהים
10 לך למחסה· ויקצף נעמן וינאץ
11 [וי]חב את פיהו במפשה . הלא
12 [נהרו]ת דמשק טובים [לט]בל ב[ם]
13 . . . . . ויגשו עבד[יו ו]ידבר[ו]
14 אל[יו ויאמרו] אבי דבר ג[דו]ל
15 הנביא דבר [אל]יך הלא תעשה
16 וילך סחוף ו[יטב]ול ויתחל ב[שרו]
17 [ש]וב להה[יות כדבר] איש האלהים

Verso : (*a*)

1 [וימאן] לל[כת . . . . .ו]פגע בו לקחת [הון]
2 [כסף] וזהב וכל מקח ויאמר חי יי
3 [א]שר עמדתי לפניו אם אקח .
4 ויאמר צעקתי קרבני במשאות
5 אדמה במ[רץ] רצוני שוב

[1] Cf. al-Harīzī, *Tahkemōnī*, Chapter iii.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

This fragment seems to contain remnants of poetic paraphrases of Biblical passages[1], at times with rime and division into verses, but with no apparent meter.

Verso (*b*) and *recto* (*a*) have been rearranged so as to display the intended verse division and rime. This was not possible with the other two pages. Conjectural text supplied between brackets by Professor Gottheil has been translated without brackets.

Recto: (*b*)

1 to his house and.....
2 [2]And the King said: "Go now, and I will send a letter
3 unto all Israel." So there went with the letter
4 Naaman. And he took of his silver and of his gold. And it came to pass,
5 when the King of Israel read, that he rent his garments
6 in sorrow. And it came to pass at the end of eight days
7 that he sent to him, saying: "Fear the Lord!" And Naaman
8 came with his horses and his chariot. And [the] King
9 sent [word, saying]: "Go down and dip [thyself] in the Jordan; and God [will be]
10 for thee a refuge." And Naaman became angry, and spurned [him],
11 and he opened his mouth, making it wide, [and he said]: "Are not the rivers of
12 Damascus good to dip [oneself] in?"
13 .....And his servants drew near and spake
14 unto him and said: "My Father, a great thing
15 the Prophet hath spoken unto thee. Wilt thou not do [it]?"
16 And he went humbly, and dipped [himself]; and his flesh began
17 to return to being as the Man of God had spoken.

Verso: (*a*)

1 And he refused to go.....and he begged him to accept goods:
2 silver and gold and every [sort of] gift. And he said: "As Jehovah liveth,
3 before whom I stand, I will receive none."
4 And he said: "I cried out: 'Approach me with presents
5 of earth. Earnestly[3] I wish to repent.

---

[2] The following is based upon II Kings, Chap. v.

[3] מְרֵץ, עֲרֵץ, הְרֵץ: inventions to rime with אֲרֵץ. See Zunz, *Zur Synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 314, 385; *Literaturgeschichte d. S. P.*

6 אפתה לאל שוכן שמי ערין.
7 [ת]חבולות מאד ארבה בהשתחוותי
8 פני בתרין. ויאמר לו לך לשלום
9 ו[ילך מע]תו כברת ארין. ועל
10 שפת [הי]ם/ אחרי מות/

11 אוכרה היום יום החמה והחרון.
12 [ב]השרף השרפה מול פני הארון.
13 וידבר יי׳ אל משׁ אהׂ מׂ שׁ בׂ אׂ
14 [ג]ורו לכם מפני משנה שברון.
15 [דמו]ת יום זה תהי לכם לזכרון.
16 ויאמר יי׳ אל משה דבר אל אׂ הנני
17 מעלה לך ארוכה שימנה לַעְנק
18 לג [רנך] על ספר חוקה ותהי ליום
19 אחר[ון] בואה . . . . . ין יבא

Verso: (b)

1 תפנה מרשות . . . . . תך היה דורש וחוק[ר לא תעש]ק את
2 רעך ולא תגזול [ולא] תלין פעולת שכיר אתך עד בוקר.

3 ביטה במדרש שלשה חדשים וסור ממתי מחשול
4 ראה בדת שלשה עורים ופזר ביותר ושול תשו[ל]
5 לא תקלל חרש ולפני עור לא ת[תן] מכשול. .

6 בעשרה דברים שב[הם] אין לדין תבין ומעול חדל מח[דול].
7 יום תראה הדין מרומם מדבר שקר בדל לך מבדול.
8 לא תעשה עול במשפט לא תשא פני דל ולא תהדר פני גדול.

9 ירא את יי׳ ואל תהי רכיל מגלה סוד חבריך ויודעיך.
10 צמת שלשה רופרין והצל שלשה נרדפין בנפשם וחכה לבא [י]שעך.
11 לא תלך רכיל בעמך ולא תעמוד [על] דם רעך.

---

[4] The portion of the law (Leviticus xvi, 1–18, 30) read upon the Day of Atonement.
[5] Job xix, 29. [6] Jeremiah xvii, 18. [7] Exodus xii, 14.
[8] Isaiah xxx 8. [9] Leviticus xix, 13 ff. [10] For הַבִּיטָה.

6 I will return to God, who dwells in [the] awful[3] heavens.
7 I will greatly multiply deceptions when I bow
8 my face in reverence[3].'" And he said to him: "Go in peace."
9 And he departed from him a little way.—And [add here the poem which begins with the words]: "On
10 the shore of the sea"; and "After the death of [the two sons of Aaron[4]]":

11 Let me remember today the Day of Fury and Anger,
22 when a great burning appeared before the Ark,
13 and Jehovah spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron[4].
14 Be ye afraid of[5] a repeated disaster[6].
15 Let the like of this day be unto you a reminder[7].
16 And Jehovah said unto Moses: "Speak unto Aaron: 'Behold I
17 bring unto you a healing; make of it a necklace,
18 around thy neck; in a law book, and that it may remain unto [the] last day[8]!'"
19 .....

Verso: (b)

1 Turn thou away from the possessions of thy.....has sought and inquired after. [9]Thou shalt not oppress
2 thy neighbor, nor rob him: the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.

3 Examine[10] [the Scriptures] by exegesis three months, and turn from men of weakness (?)[11].
4 Regard the law of three blind men, and scatter more widely, and draw out[11].
5 Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind.

6 [The] Ten Commandments—concerning which no one is entitled to judge—shalt thou examine; and from the unrighteous [shalt thou] turn away[11].
7 On the day when thou seest [pretended] justice exalting itself, speaking lies, separate thyself with a separation[11].
8 Thou shalt do no unrighteousness in judgment. Thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty.

9 Fear Jehovah, and be not a [carrier of] slander, revealing the secrets[12] of thy neighbors and thy friends.
10 Destroy three pursuers[13], and deliver three pursued in their persons, and await the coming of thy salvation.
11 Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people, neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbor.

---

11 מַחְשׁוֹל, מַחְדּוֹל and מַבְדּוֹל are purely artificial nouns invented to rime with מִכְשׁוֹל and גְּדוֹל. תְּשׁוּל: cf. Ruth ii, 16.

12 Proverbs xi, 13. 13 Read רודפין.

12 חדל לך משנא[ה] והוכיח תוכיח את עמיתיך.

13 ק[וה] אל ״ ויושיע[ך ואה]בת [לרעך].

Recto: (a)

1 . . . . . לא תשנא את [אחיך בלבבך] הת֯א עמ

2 מנקמה ונ[ט]ירה פרוש לך והוי זהיר לשיזך לתמוכה.

3 את הכלל ה[גדו]ל הזה שבתורה אחוז בו לסמוכה.

4 לא תקום ולא תטר אֹבֹ עֹ ואֹ לֹ כמֹ.

5 . . . . . חוקתי תשמרו ותהיו נש[מ]רים.

6 [שדה] כלאי זרעים [וכ]לאי בהמה וכלאי בגדים מהוברים.

7 [למע]ן זאת א[כ]פיל לכם שכר [מא]תכם נשכרים· אני ״ דבר [צד]ק מגיד מישרים.

8 ק[בל] את שכרה יום זה אתמ . . בית [יש] כהשמיע נביא להמוני תמט שכמם.

9 ויהי בשנה [השביעית ב]חמישי בעשור [לחדש] באו אנשים מזקני [יש] לדר[ו]ש

10 את ״ וישבו [לפני] . . . . . .

---

[14] Leviticus xix, 17 ff.

[15] Not the expected לרעך.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Paper 6 × 4¼ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

A portion of the *Yādh ha-Ḥazāḳāh* of Maimonides, corresponding to chapter vi, sections 17–21 of the edition of Jessnitz, 1739. Of section 21 the first three words only are written.

12 Cease thou from hatred, [yet] thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbors.
13 Hope in Jehovah and He will save thee, and love thy neighbor.

Recto: (*a*)

1 .....[14]Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor.
2 From vengeance and spite shut thyself off. And be thou attentive to thy.....[15] to uphold [him].
3 This great command which is in the Law, take hold of it [as something] steadfast:
4 Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.
5 .....my laws ye shall keep, and ye shall be kept.
6 A field with two sorts of seed, and two sorts of cattle; and two sorts of garments, combined, [are forbidden].
7 Because of this I shall multiply unto you the produce of those [fields which are] rented by you. [16]I, Jehovah, speak righteousness, I declare things that are right.

8 The house of Israel received its reward this day.....when a prophet made the multitude around me.....hear.....their shoulders(?).
9 [17]And it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth [month], the tenth [day] of the month, that certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire
10 of Jehovah, and sat before me.

---

[16] Isaiah xlv, 19. [17] Ezekiel xx, 1.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Variants. In section 18, after והפנימי are four (?) words of which only the first, לבן, and the third, עוף, are legible; מותר for מותרת; ר' after טר במשהוא. In section 19, בכולן for בכולו; ראשו אחד for ראשו האחד; מותרת for מותר; אבל אם נקב הדק כשרה wrongly omitted (cf. *Shulḥan ʿArūkh, Yōrēh Deʿāh, Hilkhōth Ṭerēphōth,* section 43). In section 20, הכמים omitted; האיברים inserted after יותר מן; ניטלה for ניטל, unless the ה belongs to the following word; מותרות for מותרת; מכלל for בכלל; היותר for היתר.

XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A MARRIAGE BROKER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches, folded lengthwise so as to form four pages, all of which are filled with writing in the jumbled fashion of a note-book.

Arabic and Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters.

This Jewish text has, quite uniquely, in addition to the usual Hebrew alphabetic numerals, Coptic numerals, arranged in a column, and scattered throughout the text. It is often impossible to see their relation to the adjacent words. They are Greek alphabetic numerals, in the cursive form employed by Christian Copts after they had given up Coptic for Arabic. In the absence of special type they must here be represented by the usual Coptic alphabetic numerals with the superior stroke. Except where the figures have a direct relation to the text they have been omitted in the Translation, because they cannot be reproduced typographically without making the page unintelligible.

The date is A.D. 1511.

Recto : (a)

באטנה יחיי דולסא

יהודה אבן גוא

בֿשֹּׁעֹּהֹ מֹּעֹּוֹלֹּהֹ

1 אלתקוים אלסעיד פי לילת אלאחד תאמן

2 יום שהר טבת שנת אתתכג לשטרות עלי

3 אלחתן הזקן ר׳ יהודה בר שלמה נע׳ בר׳ מאיר

4 נע׳ ידיע בן גוא אלכלה הבתולה הבוגרת

5 הקרואה דולסא בר׳ יצחק סט׳ בר יוסף

6 ידיע נעמן

7 אלמוקדם אלמאוחר

ϗ ϛϗ

8 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו והדורה

והוא

9 ביד החתן אלנדוניא כאתם דהב מלך

ϛ

הובנע

10 שמלה ורכש דהב בטראטיר ורכש דהב כשמארין

11 לולו ורקאין דהב זיק דהב בזואיה ג׳ אזואג׳ אסאור

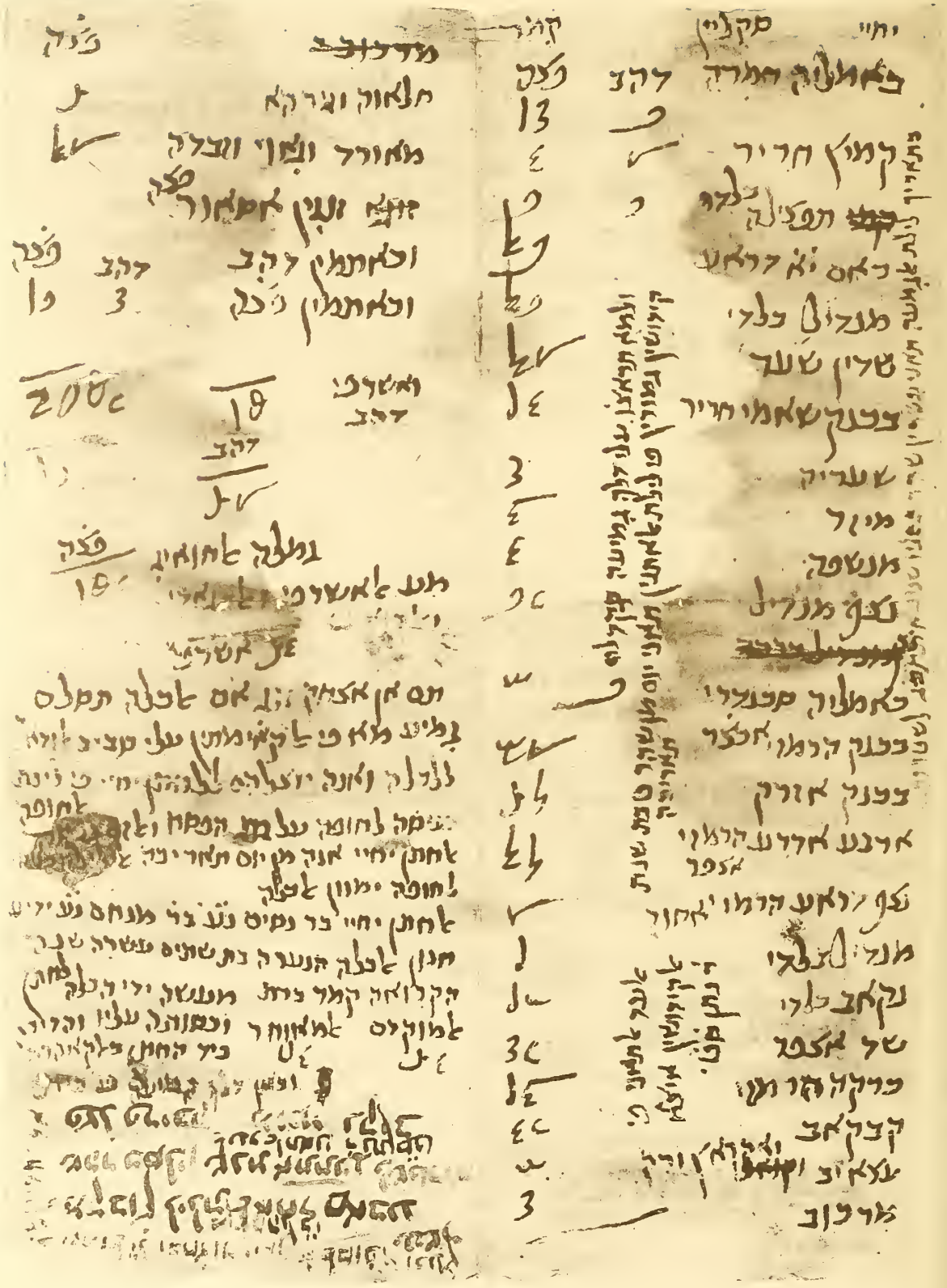
---

[1] Evidently Spanish for "sweet." The girl seems to have had no Jewish name.

[2] In a different hand. The name occurs in line 4. Very uncertain vocalisation.

[3] Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C., which makes 1823 = A.D. 1511.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 40 a



XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A MARRIAGE BROKER

In spite of the large square Hebrew titles, this is not a document nor a series of documents. The lack of legal precision and the jumbled condition of the pages show that it is a double leaf out of the note-book of some marriage broker, possibly a rabbi. It is simply a memorandum of the circumstances attending the marriage of certain persons, named; and is chiefly concerned with the invoicing of the brides' paraphernalia.

The *muḳdām* and the *me'uḥār* seem to refer to the old formal betrothal and the marriage proper, which at this time were beginning to be celebrated in quick succession. See Aaron Ben Elia of Nicomedia (*ca.* A.D. 1300–1369), *Gan Eden*, ed. Goslava, 1866, p. 142b, on Exodus xxi, 2. Professor Gottheil believes that, unless the Rabbinites had accepted the Karaite formula, it will be necessary to suppose that we are dealing with Karaite documents.

Recto: (*a*)

Confidential [memorandum of] Yaḥyā [as to] Dulce[1]
[and] Judah Ibn Jiwā'[2]

In a Propitious Hour!

1 This auspicious invoice [has been made] on the first night [of the week, the] eighth
2 day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, [of] the year of documents 1823[3], with reference to
3 the bridegroom[4], the Elder, Rabbi Judah Bar Solomon Bar Mē'īr,
4 known as Ibn Jiwā', [and] the bride[4], the marriageable virgin
5 called Dulce, daughter[5] of Rabbi Isaac Bar Joseph—A good omen!—
6 known as Naaman.
7 The advanced [gift][6], 20. The delayed [gift][6], 64[7].
8 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation
9 the bridegroom has received. The dowry[8] is a ring of royal gold,
10 a garment, and a clasp[9] of gold with conical caps, and a clasp of gold, two Cashmere shawls[10],
11 a pearl, and a dancer of gold, a collar [with] gold at the corners[11], three pairs of bracelets

---

[4] Hebrew and Aramaic words creep in; and Hebrew words are often used with the Arabic article.

[5] בר for ברת? בר apparently for בַּר and not בן רבי in this document.

[6] Hebrew מְקֻדָּם and מְאוּחָר.

[7] The sign for 60 seems to have been deleted.

[8] נְדוּנְיָה. [9] For רֶכֶס. Above there is an unintelligible word.

[10] For כשמירין. [11] For זואיאה.

12 פצה אחד מטלה ה כואתם פצה בפצוין אחדהם סארג

13 וכאתם עקיק ד סלאסל וחק עאנ

14 מנדיל סכנדרי בקצב

15 נצף מנדיל בקצב מנדילין (נצפין) סכנדרי מנדיל הר

16 בכ הר בנפ בח קצב ושמלה מרס בחבבה (חריר)
הרמזי בנפסגי

17 בכ הר בנפ בח קצב מנדיל הר בנפ בקצב
ומרתעש

18 בכנק הר דם אלגזאל בח

19 אצטנבולי בכנק ה בח אצט רפיקין ושדוד
וטרח ועצאיב

20 זעבוט מגרבי ה זעאביט וגטא קנאדיל
וגיר דלך עדא
אלתמן

21 כאמליה כאמכה (בלדי) אזרק וכאם כמכה אכצר

22 קשר באדי אביארי גובה דם אלגול שאיה
גוך
קרמזי

Recto: (b)

1 סתארה ביצה בחואשי חריר דאיר קצין
בחואשי חריר

2 מלאתין ביץ ומנדיל אביץ

3 ד מכד ספארי ביץ

---

12 سادج.

13 For סכנדריה.

14 See below. Hormuz is an island in the Persian Gulf.

12 of silver, one [of them] gilded, five rings of silver, one of them uncut[12],
13 and an agate ring, four chains and boxes of ivory,
14 an Alexandrine kerchief with gold thread,
15 half a kerchief with gold thread, two halves of two Alexandrine[13] kerchiefs, a Hormuzī[14] striped[15] kerchief with a silk ḥabara[16],
16 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread[17], and a purple Hormuzī garment,
17 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread, a purple Hormuzī kerchief with gold thread, and a trembler[18],
18 a gazelles' blood Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara,
19 a Stamboul veil—five [of them]—with a Stamboul ḥabara,
20 a Maghribī [woollen] smock—five [woollen] smocks,
18–20 two pairs of drawers, and shadds[19], and a tarḥ[20], and 'iṣābahs[19], and a lamp-cover, and [other things] besides this, in number, 13, the value, 10,
21 a kāmilīyah[21] of native blue damasquette, and a kāmilīyah of green damasquette,
22 a Bedouin garment of abyārī[22], a gazelles' blood jacket[23], articles[24] of crimson cloth,

Recto: (*b*)

1 a white veil with borders of silk, [something to wrap] about the breast, with borders of silk,
2 two white dressing-gowns, and a white kerchief,
3 four white safārī[25] combs[26].

---

[15] مُرَسَّم. [16] The modern name for a sort of black veil.

[17] I.e. بُخْنُق هُرْمُزِىّ بَنَفْسَجِىّ بِحَبَرَة قَصَب. See below.

[18] Perhaps the fanciful name of some ornament for the head.

[19] A kind of turban. For these names see the appropriate articles in Dozy, *op. cit.*

[20] A kind of veil.

[21] A kind of robe.

[22] A thin fabric. The phrase sounds Persian, although the first two words are of Arabic origin: قِشْر بَادِئ اَبْيَارِى.

[23] For جُبَّة.

[24] For أَشَايَا, a plural of شَىْء.

[25] Some commercial or geographical term.

[26] مِكَدّ is singular because the plural (مَكَادّ?) was not used. See lexicons. The first adjective then remained singular, while the second became plural under the influence of the remembered numeral.

ק״ס ק״ח
4 ונכנסו לחופה פי לילת אלכמים תאני
5 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה אלעד אלתאני
ר׳ נתן
6 ואלכתובה אכדהא שמואל כראבלים סטו
7 אלחאשר ליוצלהא לואלד אלכלה

Inverted :

יהודה מגרבי השבויה אסתר

בשעה מעולה

1 בתאריך יום אלאחד תאמן יום מן שהר טבת
2 שנת אתתכג לשטרות חצל מואפקה בין
3 יהודה בר יעקב בר אהרן ובין הכלה
4 השבויה הקרואה אסתר ברת ר׳ משה
החכם
5 סטו בר יעקב ידיע כחלי
6 אלמוקדם והוא פדיונה אלמאוחר
ק״ח ק״ס
7 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו
8 והדירה ביד החתן
9 והירושה כדין תורה
10 שהבעל יורש את אשתו
11 ואם חס ושלום ימות הבעל ויניח בנים ממנה
12 לא תטול מהכתובה כי אם מאה פרחים לבד
13 ומה שישאר יהיה לבנים ואם יגרש תקח
14 המאה ושמנים הכתובים לה בשלימות
15 ונכנסו לחופה פי יום אלגמעה תאלת
16 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה ואלכתובה
17 אכדהא אלחאשר שמואל כראבלים ליוצלהא

---

[27] I.e. four days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 4–7, were then added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

[28] I.e. besides the writer of the memorandum.

[29] Hebrew.

[30] For كَرَابِسِّى or طَرَابُلُسِّى?

4 And they went under the marriage canopy on Thursday night, the twelfth
5 day of the month, the present year[27]. The other[28] witness[29] [was] Rabbi Nathan.
6 And [as for] the marriage writ, Samuel Karāblīs[30],
7 the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it to the father of the bride.

Inverted:

Judah Maghribī The captive, Esther

In a Propitious Hour!

1 On the date of the first day [of the week], eighth day of the month of Ṭēbhēth,
2 year of documents 1823[3], an agreement was reached between
3 Judah Bar Jacob Bar Aaron, and the bride,
4 the captive[4], [who is] called Esther, daughter of Rabbi Moses[31]
5 —A good omen!—son of Jacob the Wise, known as Kuḥlī[32].
6 The advanced [gift]—and it is her ransom[4]—50. The delayed [gift], 180.
7 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense.
8 And her ornamentation the bridegroom has received.
9 And the estate [is to be divided at death] according to the [Pentateuchal] Law:
10 that the husband inherits [the goods of] his wife.
11 And if—which God forbid!—the husband should die, and leave behind sons by her,
12 she shall not [take] from the dowry more[33] than a hundred perāḥīm[34];
13 and what remains shall belong to the sons. And if he should divorce [her], she shall take .
14 the hundred and eighty credited to her in the marriage writ, in [their] entirety[35].
15 And they went under the marriage canopy on Friday, the thir-
16 teenth day of the month, the present year[36]. And [as for] the marriage writ,
17 Samuel Karāblīs[30], the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it

---

[31] Above the line, but deleted, החכם.

[32] I.e. "dealer in collyrium," or "dark about the eyes."

[33] An arabism?

[34] I.e. "blossoms." Name of some coin?

[35] For בִּשְׁלֵמוּת.

[36] I.e. five days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 15–19, were added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

18 לאהל אלכלה אלעד אלתאני ר׳ נתן סט

Verso : (*a*)

	יחיי	סקליין		קמר
1	כאמליה	חמרה	דהב	פצה
2	קמיין חריר			
3	תפצילה בלדי			
4	כאם יא דראע			
5	מנדיל בלדי			
6	שדין שער			
7	בכנק שאמי חריר			
8	שעריה			
9	מיזר			
10	מנשפה			
11	נצף מנדיל			
12	כאמליה סכנדרי			
13	בכנק הרמזי אכצר			
14	בכנק אזרק			
15	ארבע אדרע הרמגי אצפר			
16	נצף דראע הרמזי אסוד			
17	מנדיל בלדי			
18	נקאב בלדי			
19	שד אצפר			
20	כרקה הרמזי			
21	קבקאב			
22	עצאיב ואקראין ורק			
23	מרכוב			

[37] As in the first case.

[38] For צקליין if this is the meaning.

18 to the bride's people. The other[28] witness[29] [was] Rabbi Nathan[37].

Verso: (a)

	Yaḥyā	[They are] Sicilians[38]	Ḳamar[39]
		Gold	Silver
1	A red kāmilīyah[21],	4	17
2	a silk shirt,	3	5
3	a piece of native dress-goods,	1	4
4	a cut[40] [of cloth], 11 cubits,		24
5	a native kerchief,		21
6	two shadds[19] of [camels'] hair,		23
7	a Syrian silk veil,		15
8	a sha'rīyah[20],		7
9	a mi'zar[20],		6
10	a towel,		5
11	half a kerchief,		$4\frac{1}{2}$
12	an Alexandrine[13] kāmilīyah[21],	4	2
13	a green Hormuzī veil,		43
14	a blue veil,		38
15	four cubits of yellow Hormuzī [stuff],		28
16	half a cubit of black Hormuzī [stuff],		3
17	a native kerchief,		10
18	a native niḳāb[20],		12
19	a yellow shadd[19],		$7\frac{1}{2}$
20	an irregular piece of Hormuzī [stuff],		16
21	wooden sandals,		$5\frac{1}{2}$
22	'iṣābahs, and head-discs of sheet metal,		2
23	shoes,		7

[39] Arabic for "Moon." Cf. note 1.

[40] Cf. كَأْسَة in Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 435.

Verso: (b)

			פצה
1	חלאוה וגירהא		א
2	מא ורד וגאוי וזבדה		כז
3	זוגא זנגין אסאור פצה		
4	וכאתמין דהב	דהב	פצה
5	וכאתמין פצה	ג	יא
6	ואשרפי דהב	יט	ד ס ט c
		דהב / כז	יא
7	גמלה אלחואינ		פצה
8	מע אלאשרפי ואל . גאדי .		יט c
9	ואלכואתם		
10	אשרפי לה		
11	תם אן אצחק זוג אם אלכלה תסלם		
12	גמיע מא פי אלקאימתין עלי סביל אלודאע		
13	ללכלה ואנה יוצלהם ללחתן יחיי פי לילת		
14	כניסה לחופה על חג הפסח ואלזם כניסה אלחופה		
15	אלחתן יחיי אנה מן יום תאריכה אלי לילה כניסה		
16	לחופה ימוון אלכלה		
17	אלחתן יחיי בר נסים נע בר מנחם נע ידיע		
18	חנון אלכלה הנערה בת שתים עשרה שנה		
19	הקרואה קמר ברת	מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן	
20		וכסותה עליו והדירה	
21	אלמוקדם אלמאוחר	ביד החתן באלקאהרה	
22	לה לה		

---

[41] Made of sesame-seed residue, with honey and sugar.

[42] Perhaps a pomade containing butter as a base, rose-water as a scent, and another substance. If, in spite of the dot, one may read ghāwī, then one may translate "seductive" or "fashionable." See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 232.

[43] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 605.

Verso: (b)

		Silver
1 ḥilāwah[41], and other [sweets],		30
2 rose-water and jāwī and butter[42],		23
3 a pair of cymbals[43], bracelets of silver,		
4 and two rings of gold,	Gold	Silver
5 and two rings of silver,	7	11
6 and an ashrafī[44] of gold,	19	$369\frac{1}{2}$
	Gold	
	33	11
7 Total of the things[45]		Silver
8 with the ashrafī and the.....		$19\frac{1}{2}$
9 and the rings		
10	35 ashrafīs[46]	

11 Then Isaac, the husband of the bride's mother, handed over
12 all that is in the two lists, in the way of a deposit
13 for the bride, and in order that he should deliver them to the bridegroom, Yaḥyā on the night of
14 going under the marriage canopy, during (?) the Feast of the Passover[29]. And the bridegroom Yaḥyā made it a necessary condition of going under the marriage canopy,
15 that from that date till the night of going under
16 the marriage canopy, he should provide food[47] for the bride.
17 The bridegroom [is] Yaḥyā Bar Nissīm Bar Menahem, known as
18 Ḥanūn. The bride [is] the twelve year old girl,
19 called Ḳamar, daughter of[29,48]
20
21 The advanced [gift], The delayed [gift],
22 35 55
19 The handiwork of the bride [shall belong] to the bridegroom,
20 but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation
21 the bridegroom has received, in Cairo.

---

[44] According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. i, p. 976, the old dīnār (66 grains) ceased to be *struck* in Egypt in 1346, and the first ashrafīs (53.8 grains) were struck in Egypt between A.D. 1362 and 1376 or 1421 and 1438. See No. XXX, Introduction, and notes 19, 23.

[45] Egyptian colloquial.

[46] The sums 19 and $369\frac{1}{2}$ are correct for these columns of figures. The meaning of the remaining figures on this page, as well as of those on *recto a* and *b*, is not clear.

[47] For يمّون.

[48] The father's name was never filled in.

Surrounding last four lines:

וכאן דלך גמיעה פי בית | אב הדיין בר | שמואל זל ובחצור יוסף אלסופר ובעין | עשר | מן אלקהל ב"י

Inverted:

מקבוץ לילת אלאחד סאבע | שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות | אלעד אלתאני ר נתן סט | פצל פריכה מוסי נקוב

Across verso:

ולמא תראצו עלי דלך גמיעה פקד לה | קידושין גמורין פי לילת אלאתנין תאני יום מן שהר טבת שנת | תאריכה | אלעד אלתאני פי | אלקידושין איצא | ר נתן סט

Margin of verso:

בתאריך לילת אלגמעה תאני עשרין שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות

Surrounding last four lines:

And all this was [done] in the house of Abraham, the Dayyān, son of Samuel, and in the presence of Joseph the Scribe and upwards of ten [persons] from the congregation, assembled.

Inverted:

Done on the first night [of the week], seventh [day of] the month of Kislēw, [the] year of documents 1823[3]. The other witness[28] [was] Rabbi Nathan[37]. [Signed:] Faḍl Farīkah(?) Moses Nāḳūb(?)[49]

Across verso:

And after they had reached a satisfactory agreement about all this [4][the bridegroom] arranged for her [the] final betrothal-rites, on Monday night, the second day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, the year of the date [of this memorandum]. The other[28] witness[29] at the betrothal-rites also was Rabbi Nathan[37].

Margin of verso:

On the date of Friday night, twenty-second [day] of the month of Kislēw, [of] the year of documents 1823[3].

---

[49] Lines 23–26 are written in a different hand.

XLI. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters. The writing is unlike any other in this collection. A character resembling a small inverted, suspended Latin h is often used for abbreviations, and in other places where its function is not clear. Cf. the muhmilah sign in MSS. and upon glass weights.

The mention of the *maiyadī* places the fragment certainly later than A.D. 1412. See note 13 and No. XXX.

Recto:

בעה

1 איש חיל רב פעלים נבון ומעולה כהר״ נס״ אחרי
2 רוב השלם באתי בשורותים אלו להודיע כי היום
3 בבקר כתבתי בארוכה והנה מענין הסוכר לא מצאתי
4 שום ערך כי מה שכתב הגביר שנתנה לי עשרה
5 פחות רביע ולא מכרתי יודע לך כי באמת אלו
6 נתנו לי ט׳ וחצי היתי מוכר ולא היתי מעכב
7 אבל יודע לך כי בא פה הסוכר יום ששי עת
8 ערב ודברתי עים כר״ יצחק מאיו שידבר עים
9 הערל ישו״ ואמר שאניחנו בדיון עד יום ראשון
10 והלכתי אצלו יום ראשון ובא ופתח הסוכר ולא״
11 הוכשר בעיניו ואמר לי כהר״ יצחק שאמתין ב״
12 ימים עד שיראה שמא ימצא אצלו מעות״
13 כי לא נמצא אצלו מעות ולכן לא נתרצה והנה״
14 לא עשיתה בחוכמה כי האמנתה לדבריו ולא
15 לקחת״ ממנו שום מעות ולא עשיתה עימו שום
16 עקד לכן כשבא התל בנו וכש״ כי אמר לי הגביר
17 שלא ישלח לו שום סוכר והדוגיאות נתן בו״

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1 בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּׁם. 2 כְּבוד [ה]רַב. 3 Equivalent to Arabic بعد السلام.
4 Double plural. 5 מְעַנְיָן. 6 I.e. "you."
7 שְׁנָתְנָה. 8 יְוָדַע. 9 הָיִיתִי.
10 A certain Raphael Isaac Ben Aaron Mayo, or Maggio, who died in A.D. 1810, is recorded in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, p. 392.

XLI. LETTER

A rambling letter from one Solomon, perhaps in Jerusalem, to one Joseph (or Nissīm?), perhaps in Cairo, about several business matters, especially the sugar trade. Solomon professes to be too much engrossed in Bible study, and too pessimistic about sugar, to undertake any business ventures.

In places it is very difficult to make satisfactory sense of the text.

Recto:

With the help of the Name [of God][1]!

1 [To the] Man of Valor, Active, Intelligent and Excellent, the honored
Rabbi[2], Niss[īm?]. After
2 the many greetings[3]: I have come with these lines[4] to inform [you] that
today
3 in the morning I have written at length. And now as to[5] the sugar:
I have not found
4 any arrangement [possible]; because what the gentleman[6] wrote—that
I had been offered[7] ten
5 less a quarter and did not sell—[is untrue]. Be it known[8] to you that
in fact if
6 they had offered me [even] nine and a half I should have[9] sold and not
have[9] held back.
7 But be it known[8] to you that the sugar arrived here on Friday at
8 evening. And I spoke with the honored Rabbi[2] Isaac Māyō[10], that he
should speak with
9 the uncircumcised [Christian]—May his name and memory be blotted
out[11]!—and he said that I should leave it in the office till Sunday.
10 So I went along with him on Sunday; and he went in[to the office] and
opened the sugar; but it was not
11 [to be] considered fit for use, in his opinion. And the honored Rabbi[2]
Isaac asked me to wait two
12 days, till he should see [whether] perhaps he might have some money;
13 for [at the moment] he had no money, and therefore we could not reach
any agreement. Now really
14 you did not act wisely; for you trusted to his word, and did not
15 take from him any money [as guarantee], and did not make with him any
16 binding agreement; so, when it came, he made fools of us, and so it was[12].
For the gentleman[6] said to me
17 that he[6] would not send him any sugar. And [as to] the casks (?)[13]: the
captain (?)

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[11] יְמַ֣ח שְׁמ֔וֹ וְזִכְרוֹ׃ [12] וכישמו כן הוא?

[13] דוגיות = Fässer mit getrockneten Feigen," Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1924, *sub voce*; "Tiegel," Dallmann, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*, Frankfurt, 1922, *sub voce*.

18 הקפיתן ט׳ ועשרה מידי לקחת ממנו ה׳
19 קפין ולכי לא עשיתי שום דבר והנה כר׳ אברה׳
20 גרבתי יצ׳ הלך למצרים תעשה עמו כאשר׳
21 תוכל כי פה אין שום ערך כי לא הנחני שום
22 סריסור שלא דברתי עמו והגביר יודיע אור׳
23 הארץ בענין הסוכר ודי למבין ואל יבטח הגביר
24 עלי כי מה ביד לעשות בסחורה עוצל וערך
25 גדול ככה והנה אני תורתי אומנתי ואם היתי׳
26 חפין ללכת כל היום בסחורות לא היתי נותן מעות
27 לשום אדם ונראה שמזל גורם כי כר׳ רחמים במעט
28 מעות הרויח כאשר כתבת לו ואפי׳ שאין לך כל
29 כך תועלת וינראה שאין לו שום חלק בסוכר
30 ואני הכל עלי לכן אדוני אל תאשימני כי כה׳ הוא

Upon the margin:

להוט ורוצה שותפים הרבה ורוצה לקבין כל העולם כי איך בטחת לך על תוהו לקנות סוכר מב׳ ככרים בלתי שום | עקד כלל ובדבר שאמר לי הגביר בשעת נסיעתו שאין כונתך לשלוח סוכר כלל לכן ועשיתה כחכמתיך כי אני | כעת אין לי מה להפסיד ובאמת אלו שלח .הגביר מעות הינו מורצים והנה הראיתיו היום לתגר תוגר | שיש לו מורכסון ונתן בו ערך יו׳ והמרכסון ערך ד׳ וכסיתי אותו ויש גוי א׳ שיש לו קרוב לאלפ׳ | חרבות מונציה ועשה עמו יצחק מחלני קפין א׳ כל הרב לערך כו מידי והסוכר ערך ט׳ ואני לא |

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[14] For *mu'aiyadī*, the half-dirham coined in the reign of the sultan Mu'aiyad, see Lane, *The Modern Egyptians*, App. B, and No. XXX. Mu'aiyad reigned from A.D. 1412 to 1421.

[15] A measure of capacity for drugs and perfumes. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 383.

[16] See al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[17] יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ.

[18] Perhaps سَرْسُور. See Wahrmund, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*.

[19] יוֹדֵעַ. [20] וְדֵי לְמֵבִין.

[21] I.e. "What qualifications have I?"

[22] It looks like עטל. Is it עָצֵל?

offered nine [ashrafīs[14]] and ten maiyadīs[14] to take from him five
ḳafaṣ[15]; and so I did not do any [business]. And Rabbi[2] Abraham
Jabartī[16],—May [God,] his Rock, preserve him[17]!—has gone to Egypt. [I hope] you will do [business] with him as much as
you can. Here there is no arrangement at all; for he has not appointed me in any sense
manager[18], since I have not talked with him. The gentleman[6] knows[19] the enlightenment (?)
of the country as to sugar; and [a word] to the wise is sufficient[20]! Let the gentleman[6] not depend
upon me; for what [have I] in hand [with which] to operate in business[21], negligent[22] [as I am], and [trying to] negotiate
some important [transaction]? Thus it is. And as for me, my Tōrah is my trade[23]. And [even] if I did[9]
wish to take up all the day with business matters, I should not[5] give money
to any man [for investment]. And it seems that fate determines; for Rabbi[2] Reḥāmīm with [only] a little
money has made a profit, as you wrote to him [that he would], even though[24] you do not have so very
much advantage [from his transaction yourself]. But it appears[25] that he takes no part at all in sugar [dealings],
and the whole thing falls on me. Therefore, my Lord, do not blame me; for he is so

Upon the margin:

greedy and desirous. He takes on more and more associates, and he would like to gather in the whole world. How could you rely upon emptiness—to buy sugar [for] 42 talents[26], without any security whatsoever! And as to what the gentleman said to me at the time of his departure, that it was not your intention to send sugar at all for that reason: you have acted wisely. I now have nothing to lose. Now really, if the gentleman had sent money we should have been satisfied[27]! I have shown him today how to do business[28]! He has, namely,.....and he gave for it about 16, and the.....[is worth] about 4; and I kept the [matter] secret. There is a gentile [here] who has about a thousand swords of Mōnziah[29]; and Isaac Mḥlnī made a [bargain] with him [for] one ḳafaṣ[15], each sword for about 26 maiyadīs[14], and the sugar [sells for] about 9. And I do not

---

[23] אֶמָּנוּתִי. [24] אֲפִילוּ.

[25] Confusion of יֵרָאֶה with נִרְאָה.

[26] כְּבָרִים probably for dīnārs. [27] מְרֻצִּים.

[28] Perhaps לְתַגֵּר תִּתָּגֵר, "to bargain and be bargained"?

[29] Monza, locally *Monscia*, a city in Lombardy.

Upon the upper part: (*a*)

ידעתי מה לעשות כי לא | נסתי בשום מקמֻה ואני | מתירה לעשות שום
דבר״ | בערך גדול ודבר שאנו״ | עלי כי צֻריך עֻין מרגל

(*b*)

וחן חן לאדון על רוב השתדֻלותו | מענין קנית הזהב ומענין היצֻמל | אל
יקח לי.....לא מכהר׳ | שלמה ולא מעלתי כי פה הב..... | לתת לי
ומענין הבית יעשה עמו | הגביר כאשר אפשר ושלום

(*c*)

הצעיר שלמה..... | יום ב׳ ו׳ לי[רח ני]סן

Verso:

לנבון ומעולה כר״ יוסף חלופי נס״ והלבי״ ופגין״

---

30 כַּתִּירוֹ ? 31 שֶׁאֲנוּ עָלָיו ?

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

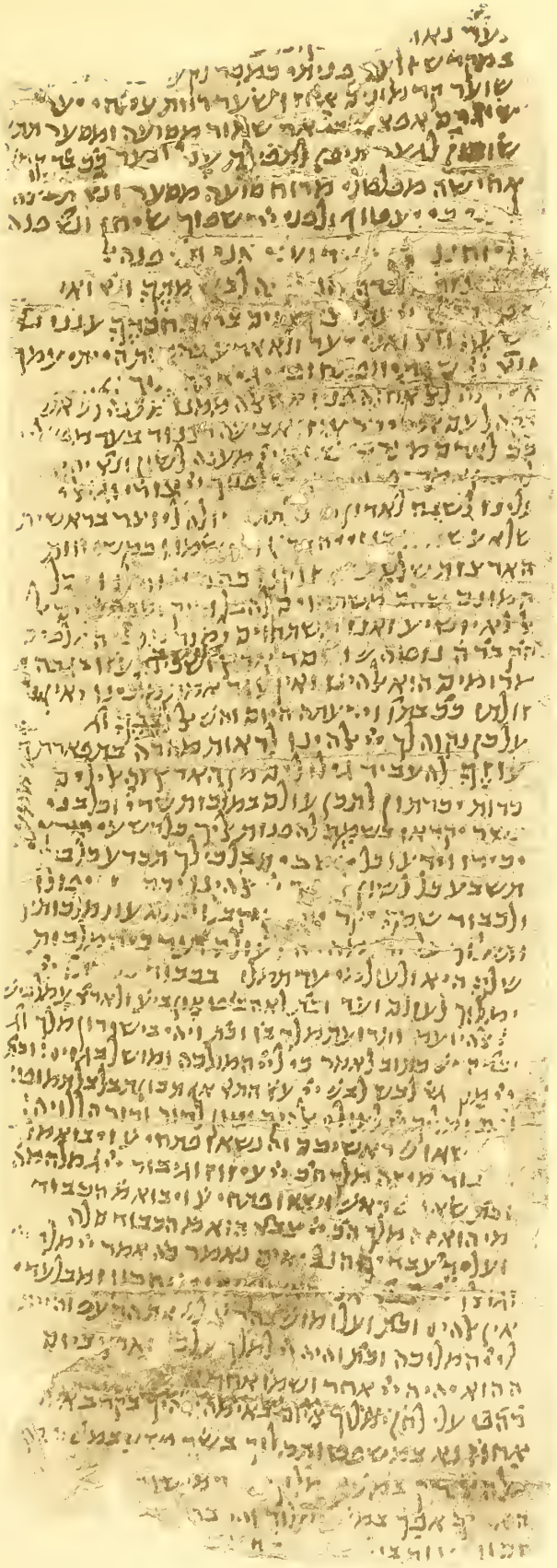
Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ inches: too long to have been a leaf from a book, and hence probably a memorandum of some sort. Number of lines: 53–62.

The language is Hebrew, with connective and directive words in Arabic, such as بَعْدُ or بَعْدَهُ in *recto*, line 2, *verso*, lines 39 and 46; لَحْن and عَلَى لَحْن *recto*, line 49, *verso*, line 38; ثُمَّ *verso*, lines 44 and 45; أَيْضًا *verso*, line 45; يَقُول *verso*, line 58; the Arabic article in *verso*, line 38.

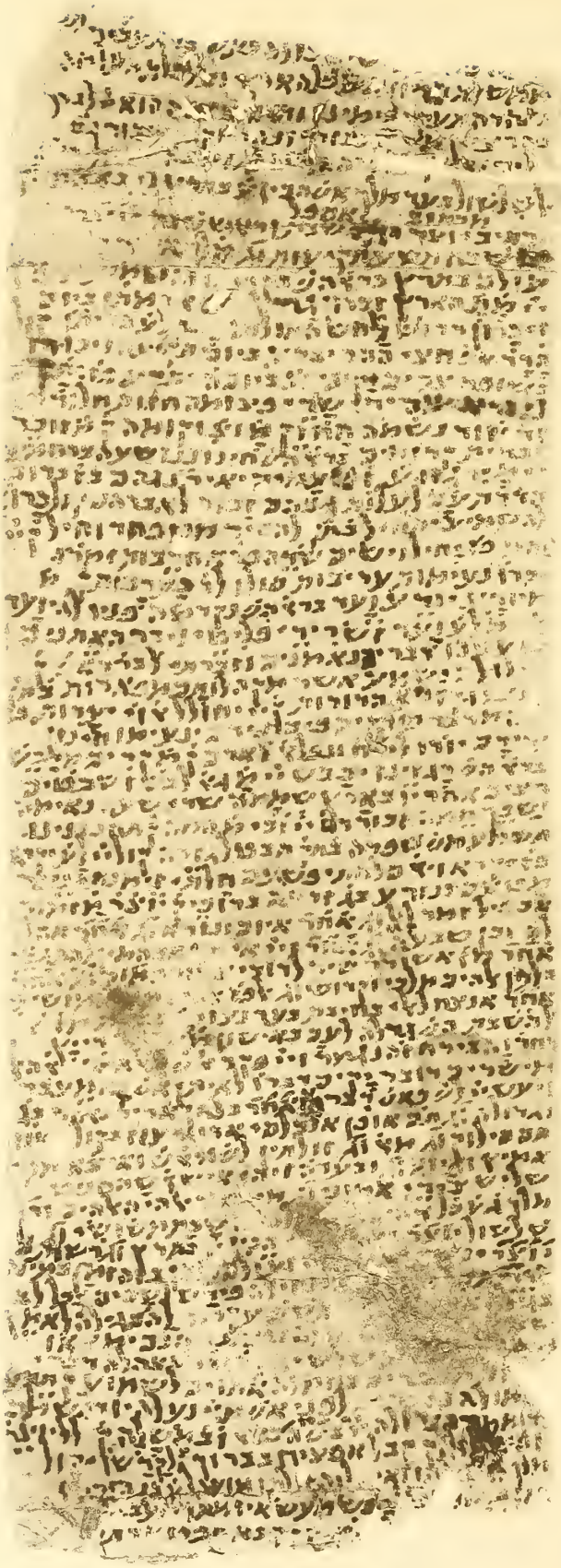
The writing is semi-cursive Hebrew of two varieties: the first covering *recto* and the first five lines of *verso*. Both are difficult to read as the paper is worn and the ink pale. Abbreviations are so extensively used that many passages are unintelligible.

Of Biblical passages one recognises: Psalm lv, 9 in *recto*, line 7; followed by Psalm cii, 1; xxv, 16; lxxxvi, 16; lxix, 14; lxxiii, 22; li, 17; Proverbs xvi, 1; Psalm xix, 15; Psalm xcvii, 1 in *verso*, line 10; Psalm lxviii, 5 in line 21; Psalm xxix, 9 in line 26; xciii, 1 in line 29.

Rimes are discoverable in three places: עֵר in *recto* up to line 7; various rimes in *verso*, lines 16–32; ה‗ toward the end of *verso*.



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 42 a



Genizah Fragment 42 b

Upon the upper part: (*a*)

know what to do, I have not run away anywhere (?), but I [stay here and] prevent him[30] from doing anything on a large scale, or anything which he does not need to do[31], for inquiring thought is necessary.

(*b*)

And many thanks to (my) Lord for his many efforts concerning the purchase of the gold and concerning the.....Let him not take for me .....not from Rabbi[2] Solomon and not on account of me (?). For here the.....to give me. And as to the house: Let the gentleman[6] do with it whatever is possible. Farewell!

(*c*)

[From] the humble Solomon.....
Monday, the sixth of the month of Nīsān.

Verso:

To the Intelligent and Excellent Rabbi[2] Joseph Ḥallūfī (?)[32].

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[32] The last three words are apparently abbreviations.

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

Most of the *recto* relates to the Mūsāph prayers of the New Year's Day service; but line 49 goes over into something else. There seems to be no particular reason for making such a selection of prayers and passages, or for arranging them in this order. Perhaps they are the notes of some pupil. Nor do the contents of this fragment appear, from any point of view, to justify transcription, translation and notes. Plates XLIII and XLIV will, however, enable the student to form his own opinion.

Professor Israel Davidson has gone over the text and has made some very valuable suggestions for which the editors wish to thank him. Bibliography: Zunz, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin, 1859; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 107–8; *Siddur Rābh 'Amram Gā'ōn*, Warsaw, 1865; *Siddur Troyes*, Budapest, 1905; *Maḥzōr Vītrī*, Berlin, 1889–93; and *Sēfer Abū-dirham*, Prague, 1784.

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

Paper $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic and Hebrew, in half-square Hebrew characters.

Both the Arabic and Hebrew are fairly good; but the way in which the document passes from one language to the other, and back again, gives the impression of an imperfect command of them both, and robs the document of the dignity which it otherwise might have. The unavoidable use of Hebrew legal expressions leads the writers off into Hebrew completely for a time; and yet Hebrew cannot be sustained to the end.

The document belongs to the period of the Palestinian gaonate about which the Genizah has taught us so much, and deals with the familiar topic of discord in the Academy at al-Ramlah, evident from letters of Solomon Ben Judah, the central figure of the period, and his contemporaries, as published by Mann, *op. cit.* It appears to be a record of the settlement of this long controversy, alluded to by Nathan, writing in A.D. 1042 to Fusṭāṭ (Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 151): "You have received already [the account] of how the peace came about and what we did for the sake of peace in Israel."

The date is Tishrī the 21st, A.M. 4803, equivalent to October 8th, A.D. 1043.

Recto :

1 נוסכה אלמואקה אשמעו מה ידבר האל וג

2 דכר מא תקרר בין אלמתיבה ובין מ ור נתן אב בן אברהם נ פי מא ראתוה אלמתיבה ושיוך

3 אלאומה ונשיאינו מן אלתקדם פי רתבה אב בית דין אלתי יסתחקהא רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה

4 חסב סונה ישראל מן דלך אנה ירגע ען גמיע מא כאן תערץ לה מן אל תסמי במא כאן תסמא בה

5 ומא אסמא בה סואה ואנה לא ינפרד בתקריר אמר מן אל אמור ולא באלצלאה עלי אחד

6 מן אלנאס פי מרתבה מן מראתב ישראל אלא מא אגתמע עליה ראי אדונינו שלמה גאון

---

[1] Mistake for מואפקה. [2] Psalm lxxxv, 9.

[3] I.e. "school of Talmudic law."

[4] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 151, 193–4; vol. ii, 230–1.

[5] אב בית דין. See Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–6, 272.

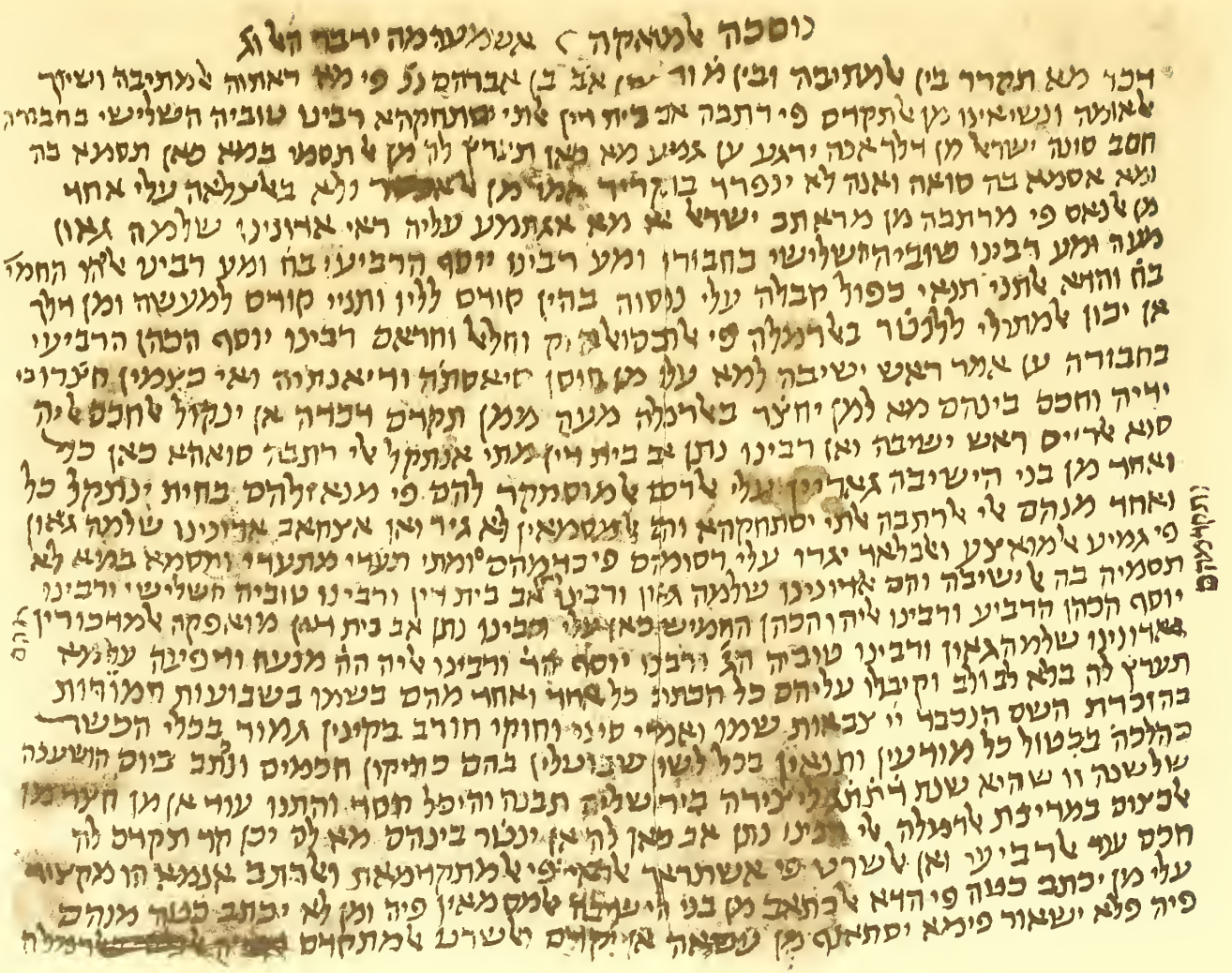

Plate XLV

Genizah Fragment 43 a

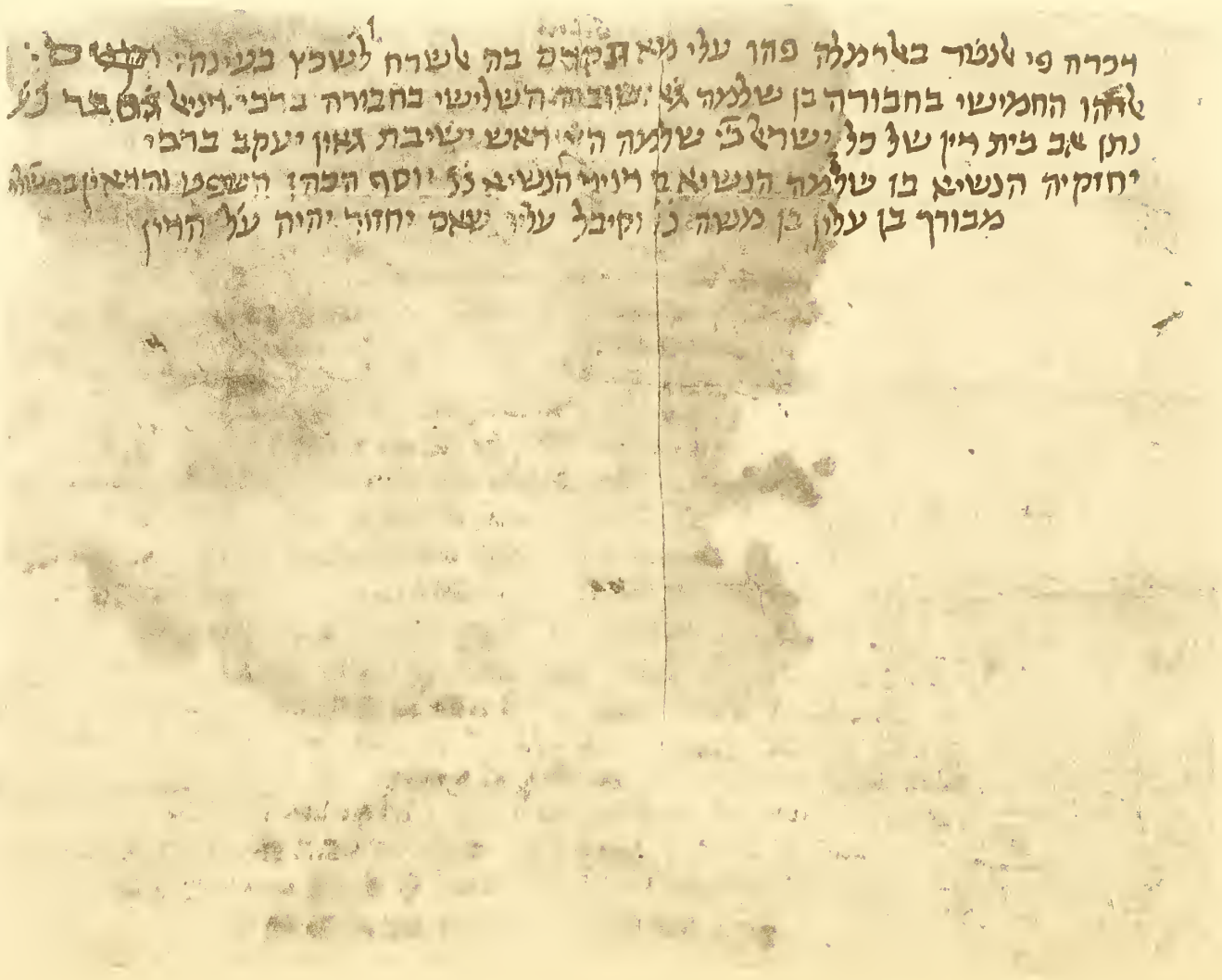

Plate XLVI

Genizah Fragment 43 b

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

On the discord at al-Ramlah, see Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 141–152, and also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273.

A member of the Palestinian Academy, Nathan Ben Abraham, settled in Egypt. When his uncle, the "Father of the Law Court," died, he was made "Father" by his influential Egyptian following; and the regular candidate for this office, Tobiah Ben Daniel, the "Third in the group," was pushed aside. Nathan then proceeded to undermine the authority of the Gā'ōn, Solomon Ben Judah, and at last to declare himself "Head of the Academy," the title borne by the Gā'ōn. Then began a contest between the parties behind the two rival Ge'ōnīm.

Our document records the terms of the reconciliation. Nathan must renounce all assumed titles. Nathan must not decide matters of business, nor pray for anyone without the concurrence of the other four in the group. Joseph shall be judge in al-Ramlah "in imprisoning an.....and [in determining what is] permitted and forbidden." When Solomon dies and Nathan becomes Gā'ōn, the others shall be promoted accordingly, and then observe the restrictions of the offices which they shall assume. Should anyone irregularly assume a title, Nathan (*sic*!) shall restrain and expel him. This agreement was ratified with mighty oaths by all of the group. Thus was Nathan shorn of all power except to punish in future such as should sin as he had done.

Recto:

1 Copy of the agreement[1]. I will hear what God will speak etc.[2]

2 Record of what was established between the Academy[3] and our Master and Rabbi, Nathan[4], [Father of the Law Court][5], son of Abraham, deceased[6], in regard to what was undertaken[7] by the Academy[3] and the Elders of

3 the Nation and our Princes concerning the advancement into the rank of Father of the Law Court[5], which is [rightly] claimed by our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group,

4 according to the custom[8] of Israel in that [matter, to wit:] That he shall renounce all that he has come to possess in the way of title, in so far as he gave himself a title,

5 or was given a title[9] by others, And that he shall not act as an individual in determining any matter, nor in praying[10] for any

6 man in any of the classes of Israel, except [when he does] that in which the opinion of our Lord Solomon Gā'ōn concurs

---

[6] נג׳ is נח נפשיה. [7] Copyist's mistake for יאתוה.

[8] سُنَّة. [9] For אסמאה. [10] See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 142.

7 מעה ומע רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה ומע רבינו יוסף הרביעי בח/ ומע
רבינו אליהו החמי/

8 בה והדא אלתני תנאי כפול קבלה עלי נפסוה בהין קודם לליו ותניי קודם
למעשה ומן דלך

9 אן יכון אלמתולי ללנטר באלרמלה פי אלחבם ואל[..]ק וחלאל וחראם
רבינו יוסף הכהן הרביעי

10 בחבורה ען אמר ראש ישיבה למא עלם מן חוסן סיאסתה ודיאנתוה ואי
כצמין חצרו בי[ן]

11 ידיה וחכם בינהם מא למן יחצר באלרמלה מעה ממן תקדם דכרה אן
ינקול אלחכם אליה

12 סוא אלריים ראש ישיבה ואן רבינו נתן אב בית דין מתי אנתקל אלי
רתבה סואהא כאן כל

13 ואחד מן בני הישיבה גארין עלי אלרסם אלמוסתקר להם פי מנאולהם
בחית ינתקל כל

14 ואחד מנהם אלי אלרתבה אלתי יסתחקהא והם אל מסמאין לא גיר ואן
אצחאב אדונינו שלמה גאון

15 פי גמיע אלמואצע ואלבלאד יגרו עלי רסומהם פי כדמהם ותקדמהם ומתי
תעדי מתעדי ותסמא במא לא

16 תסמיה בה אלישיבה והם אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו נתן אב בית דין
ורבינו טוביה השלישי ורבינו

17 יוסף הכהן הרביע ורבינו אליהו הכהן החמישי כאן עלי רבינו נתן אב
בית דין מואפקה אלמדכורין והם

---

11 I.e. Nathan.

12 חמיישי.

13 בהן קודם ללאו ותני קודם למעשה. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, 1924, vol. iv, p. 654, quoting the Babylonian Talmud, Ḳiddūshīn 3, 4 (61a): Every conditional agreement must be twice pronounced, and must precede the transaction; and the assent must be pronounced before the dissent. This means apparently that one must first state what one will do if the condition is fulfilled, then what one will do if it is not fulfilled; and then one may act.

14 Near Ludd, between Jerusalem and Jaffa.

15 One expects here "releasing." The visible remains seem to indicate רזק "sustenance," or דוק "insanity."

16 ישיבה the same as מתיבה?

17 -*ō* for -*ihi* as in modern familiar style.

with him[11], and with our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group, and with our Rabbi Joseph, the Fourth in the group, and with our Rabbi Elijah, the Fifth[12]
in the group. And this agreement is a double agreement which he has accepted for his own person, with *yes* before *no* and agreement before execution[13]. And similarly,
that the one appointed for the administration in al-Ramlah[14], in imprisoning and.....[15] and [in determining what is] permitted and forbidden, [be] our Rabbi Joseph ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth in
the group, by command of the Head of the Academy[16], by virtue of what [the Head of the Academy] knows of the beauty of his administration[17], and his conscientiousness[17]. And when litigants appear be-
fore, and judgment between them is given[18] by[19], some one of those previously mentioned, who is in al-Ramlah with him, the judgment shall be referred to him,
together with the ra'īs, the Head of the Academy[16]. And when our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court, is transferred to equal rank[20], all
of the sons of the Academy[16] shall follow the ordinance laid down[21] for them in their [several] stations—since each one of them
is transferred to the rank to which he is entitled; and they are the ones named[22], and not otherwise. And the associates of our Lord Solomon Gā'ōn
in all the places[23] and towns shall follow their ordinances, in their service and their advancement[24]. And when anyone shall transgress and call himself by that
by which the Academy[16] does not call him[25],—and [these titles are:] our Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court; and our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third; and our Rabbi
Joseph, ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth[26]; and our Rabbi Elijah, ha-Kōhēn, the Fifth—there shall be[27], with respect to our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court, an agreement of the [persons] mentioned; and they [are][28]

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[18] وحُكِمَ ما. The ما is here either an adverb (German *etwa*) or a noun ("something").

[19] Passive verb with logical subject introduced by ל as in Jewish Aramaic. See Margolis, *Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, Munich, 1910, pp. 75, 82.

[20] I.e. Gā'ōn, successor of Solomon.

[21] مُسْتَقَرّ.

[22] Vernacular (?) *musamma'īn* for classical مُسَمَّوْنَ.

[23] مَوَاضِع.

[24] In the margin, with a sign in the text.

[25] تُسَمِّيه.

[26] הרביעי.

[27] Perfect of verbs, because all are the apodoses of the condition in line 15.

[28] In the margin, with a connecting line.

18 אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו טוביה הג׳ ורבינו יוסף הד׳ ורבינו אליה הה׳
מנעה ודפעה עלמא

19 תערין לה בלא לב ולב וקיבלו עליהם כל הכתוב כל אחד ואחד מהם
בשמו בשבועות חמורות

20 בהזכרת השם הנכבד יי צבאות שמו ואמרי סיני וחוקי חורב בקינין גמור
בכלי הכשר

21 כהלכה בבטול כל מודעין ותנאין בכל לשון שבוטלין בהם כתיקון חכמים
ונכתב ביום הושענה

22 של שנה זו שהיא שנת ד׳תתג׳ ליצירה בירושלים תבנה והיכל חסד והתנו
עוד אן מן חצר מן

23 אלכצום במדינת אלרמלה אלי רבינו נתן אב כאן לה אן ינטר בינהם
מא לם יכן חד תקדם לה

24 חכם ענד אלרביעי ואן אלשרט פי אשתראך אלרא׳י פי אלמתקדמאת
ואלרתב אנמא הו מקצוד

25 עלי מן יכתב כטה פי הדא אלכתאב מן בני אלישיבה אלמסמאין פיה
ומן לא יכתב כטה מנהם

26 פיה פלא ישאור פימא יסתאנף מן עסאה אן יקדם ואלשרט אלמתקדם

Verso:

1 דכרה פי אלנטר באלרמלה פהו עלי מא תקדם בה אלשרה ללשכין
בעינה: תקוים:

2 אליהו החמישי בחבורה בן שלמה גא׳: [ו]טוביה השלישי בחבורה ברבי
דניאל גסבר נע׳

3 נתן אב בית דין של כל ישראל בי שלמה ה.. ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב ברבי

4 יחזקיה הנשיא בן שלמה הנשיא בן דויד הנשיא נג׳ יוסף הכהן השופט
והדאין בר שלם

5 מבורך בן עלון בן משה נג׳ וקיבל עליו שאם יחזור יהיה על הדין

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29 בְּלא לֵב וְלֵב. 30 עלי מא. 31 וְקִבְּלוּ?

32 תְּיקוּן for תְּהוּן. See Levy, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 664; and No. I, *recto*, line 21.

33 The 21st of Tishrī seventh and last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, 4803 Era of the Creation, equals eighth of October, A.D. 1043.

34 Rest of line scratched out.

35 See line 23. 36 See lines 24–26.

37 Or "rectification" or "adjustment."

18 our Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Master Tobiah, the Third; and our Master Joseph, the Fourth; and our Master Elijah, the Fifth—[Nathan] shall restrain[27] [the transgressor] and expel[26] him without sentimentality[29], since[30]

19 he has opposed [them]. And all [that is] written [above] they took[31] upon themselves, each one of them separately, in his own name, with mighty oaths,

20 —mentioning the "Honored Name," "Jehovah of Hosts is His Name," and "the Words of Sinai," and "the Laws of Horeb,"—by complete acquisition through a valid instrument,

21 according to custom, making impossible all protests and conditions, by all the language by which men make [evasions] impossible, according to the institution[32] of wise men. And we write [this document] on the Day of Hoshanah [Rabbah]

22 of this year, which is the year 4803 of the Creation[33], in Jerusalem—may it be built up, and [the] Temple of Mercy! And they agreed further that when any litigants

23 appear in the city of al-Ramlah, before our Master Nathan, Father [of the Law Court], it shall be his duty to examine them as to whether some one of them have not [asked]

24 judgment of the "Fourth" before [asking judgment of] him. And the condition of association in opinion [as set forth] in the foregoing [statements], and in rank applies only

25 to those Sons of the Academy[16], named[23] therein, who affix their signatures to this document. And if any one of them shall not affix his signature

26 to it, he shall not be consulted in any [matter] which any [man] may initiate who may present [a proposal]. And the condition afore-

Verso:

1 mentioned[34], as to the examination[35] in al-Ramlah, applies, according to the preceding comment[36], to each individual in person. Summary[37]:

2 Elijah, the Fifth in the group, son of Solomon, Gā'ōn[38], and Tobiah, the Third in the group, son of Rabbi Daniel Gsbr[39].

3 Nathan, Father of the Law Court of All Israel, son of Rabbi Solomon... .....[40], Head of the Academy[16], [and known as] Gā'ōn of Jacob, son of Rabbi

4 Hezekiah ha-Nasī'. Joseph ha-Kōhēn ha-Shōfēṭ, the dayyān[41], son of Solomon

5 Mebōrākh, son of 'Lwn, son of Moses. And [Nathan] took[31] upon himself [the condition] that, if he should repent [of the agreement], he should be subject to judgment.

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[38] Solomon ha-Kōhēn was Gā'ōn immediately preceding Solomon Ben Judah.

[39] For גִּזְבָּר "treasurer"?

[40] According to Mann, *op. cit.*, chap. iii, Nathan's father was named Abraham.

[41] For הדיאן?

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Recto:

1 הילכות[1] אזהרות[2] תענית יום הכפורים

2 פיס[3] וברחיצה׳ תנו[4] רבנן אסור לרחוץ מקצת גופו ככל גופו ואם היה מלוכלך בטיט

3 ובצואה רוחץ כדרכו ואינו חושש: תאנא[5] דבי מנשה רבן שמעון בן גמליאל אומ[6] מדיחה אשה

4 [י]רה[7] במים ונותנת פת לתינוק[8]: אמרו[9] על שמאי הזקן שלא רצה להאכיל בידו אחת וגזרו עליו

5 [להא]כיל[10] בשתי ידיו[11] מאי טעמ[12] אמ[6] אביי משום שבתא[13]:

6 כל[14] חייבי טבילות טובלין כדרכן בין[15] בתשעה באב בין ביום הכפורים

7 תנו רבנן ה[רוא]ה קרי ביום הכפורים יורד וטובל ולערב ישפשף׳ לערב[16] סלקא דעתא[17] אלא אימא ואם[18]

8 מבערב ישפשף[19]

9–15 (*Original text erased*)

16 תאני[20.6] יהודה גרוגרות[21] אסור לישב [ע]ל[22] טיט[23] ביום הכפורים׳ אמ[6] ר יהושע בן לוי בטיט[23]

17 הטופח׳[24] אביי[25] אמ[6] ובטופח על מנת להטפיח: אמ[6] רב יהודה מותר להצטנן בפירות׳

18 רב יהודה מצטנן בקרא׳ אביי[26] מצטנן בינוקא׳ רבא מצטנן בכספא דכספא׳

19 אמ[6] רבא[27] כספא דכספא מלא אסיר[28] חסיר[29] שרי׳ דפחרא בין[30] מלי[31] בין חסיר[29] אסיר׳[28]

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[1] This line is the heading to the entire subject as originally written on the fragment.

[2] The word can also be in the singular. The last letters are not well preserved. The meaning here is "prohibitions."

[3] The word פיס, for פיסקא, is used in this fragment to designate that the following word or words are from the Mishnah. It is not usual in Talmud Bablī and Pōseḳīm. The Mishnah treated in this page is found in Yōmā viii, 1.

[4] The passage is in B. Yōmā 77b. Compare Tōsephtā iv, 2–6.

[5] Participles as תאנא, תאני, באעי, שאחל, חאזי, are written with א. This may be due to Arabic influence.

[6] Note the writing of אומ instead of אומר, אמ instead of אמר. This verb has, in the imperfect and imperative, an א instead of the ר, which was lost in pronunciation. The ר was then apparently lost in the pronunciation of the perfect and participle. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1, quotation.

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ inches.

Hebrew and Arabic, in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, not all by the same hand, written in different directions, interlined, erased, smudged and otherwise defaced.

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[7] Talmud adds אחת. But Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rashī and העיטור (2nd part 44c) omit אחת.

[8] Talmud adds ואינה חוששת under the influence of the preceding ואינו חושש. The words are, however, omitted in MSS^{m,2,o} and Ḥullīn 107b. See דקדוקי סופרים to Yōmā, p. 244, note ש.

[9] עליו is omitted through a scribal error.

[10] So Talmud, but ישיאכיל is also possible. For this text see MSS^{2,o} (Bibliography, p. 217).

[11] Talmud ידים, but the ם is due to the influence of the next word. For this text see MSS.

[12] The א in טעמא is omitted in this fragment, and a dot is placed upon the preceding letter.

[13] This word is written everywhere also with י, שיבתא. The omission of the י after the ש is due apparently to a scribal error.

[14] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 88a.

[15] Talmud Yōmā omits the phrase בין בתשעה באב בין, but it is preserved in Shabbāth 111a, Ta'anīth 13a, Bēṣā 18b. See also הלכות גדולות p. 61a, מאה שערים p. 52, העיטור p. 44d.

[16] Talmud מאי דהוה הוה. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{m,o}. Cf. Rashī. See דקדוקי סופרים p. 313, note נ.

[17] Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have רעתך.

[18] Talmud omits ואם. The present text misled Rashī. For the correct text of the fragment see MS^{2}. Cf. דקדוקי סופרים, note ם.

[19] Talmud adds קא סבר מצוה לשפשף. But the phrase is correctly omitted in MS^{m}. See ד. ם, *ibid.*

It seems that the passage of ההולך להקביל (B. Yōmā 77b, in an abridged form) followed the preceding passages, but it was wiped away and replaced by an insertion. Later an addition to the preceding passage was inserted.

[20] Passage in B. Yōmā 78a.

[21] Talmud adds בר. For the omission see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, p. 249, note ל.

[22] Talmud adds גבי. Alfāsī omits it.

[23] Talmud has טינא, for טיט see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, *ibid.*

[24] Talmud and Pōseḳīm have here מטפחת; מאה שערים, p. 53 has מטפח. But the text of the fragment is preferable, otherwise there is no difference in opinion between מטפחת and טופח עמ להטפיח.

[25] In Talmud אמר אביי, as if he explains the preceding מטפחת. The MS^{m} has the same text as the fragment. The text is not a scribal error (see ד. ם, *ibid.*, note מ). Abāye is really opposing Rabbi Yehōshua B. Lēvī, and not explaining his words.

[26] Talmud has רבה. For אביי see MS^{o}.

[27] Talmud has רב פפא. For רבא see MSS^{o,1,2}. Cf. ד. ם, note ם.

[28] Talmud has Hebrew אסור. But הלכות גדולות p. 62b and Alfāsī have the Aramaic אסיר.

[29] Talmud writes חסר without the י, but Rabbi Ḥananēl, Alfāsī and העיטור have the י.

[30] Talmud has instead אידי ואידי. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{o,1}. Cf. ד. ם, *ibid.*

[31] We expect מלא, but see MS^{2}. Compare also Alfāsī מליא.

20 מאי טעמ[12] משחל שאחיל׳[5] רב אשי[32] אמ[6] אף כסא[33] דכספא חסיר[29]
אסיר׳[28] מאי[34] טעמ[12]

21 דאתי[35] לאיזדרבויי׳ זעירי[36] בר חמא אושפיזכניה[37] דר[38] יהושע בן לוי
ורבמי ורבם[י] וכולה[ו]

22 רבנן בקיסרי אמרו ליה ליוסף[39] בר׳ יהושע בן לוי בר אריא תא אימא[40]
לך מילתא מעליתא דהוה ע[ביד]

23 אבוך[41] בערב יום הכפורים מביאין לו מטפחת ושורה במים[42] למחר
מעבירה על] גב[י] עיניו [ואינו]

24 חושיש[43] כן][44] כי אתא רבה בר מארי[45] אמ[6] מטפחת[46] היתה לו [לר׳
יהוש]ע בן לוי ערב יום הכ[פ]ורים שורה

25 במים ועושה כמין כלים נגובין למחר מעבי[רה] על גבי עיניו ואינו חושיש[:][43]

26 פיס ובסיכה[47] תנו רבנן אסור לסוך [מ]קצת גופו בכל גופו ואם היה חולה
או שהיו ל[ו חט]טי[ן]

27 [בראשו] סך כדרכו ואינו חושש: חס[48]

Right margin:

חס[49] בין[50] סיכה[51] של תענוג בין סיכה שאינה של תענוג אסור: פיס
ובנעילת[52]

27 פיס ובנעילת הסנדל׳[53] איבעיא[54] להו מהו לצאת בס[נדל]

28 של שעם ביום הכפורים׳ עמד ר׳ יצחק בר נחמני על רגליו ואמר אני
ראיתי את[ר׳ יה]ושע[55] . .

29 שיצא בסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים[56] כן[57] ר׳ אליעזר[58] דמן נוי[59] התיר
רבה בר ב[ר חנא] נפיק ב . . . ובסנדל

30 של שעם ביום הכפורים בעא מיניה אמ[6] ליה מותר רב יהודה נפק[60]

(*Remainder missing*)

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[32] Talmud רב פפא. For רב אשי see MSS.

[33] Talmud has כסא דכספא נמי. Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have אפי׳.

[34] Talmud משום ר׳. For מאי טעמא see MSS.

[35] Talmud has here the participle דמזדריב. For the infinitive see MS^{o,l}. Cf. ד.ס, note ע.

[36] Talmud זעירא. For the writing with the י see MS^{2,l}.

[37] Talmud אושפזכנין. For the text of the fragment see MS^{m,2,l}.

[38] The text in the Talmud is דרבי אמי ורבי אסי ורבי יהושע בן לוי ודכולהו רבנן דקיסרי הוה אמר ליה . . . . The text is surely corrupt. Rabbi Yehōshua, being of an older generation, should be mentioned first. It is not likely that Zeīra was a hotel-keeper who accommodated all the scholars of Caesarea. This statement is not important. The text of the fragment is excellent. See for its support MS^{m}, which has בקיסרין and omits הוה.

Professor Gottheil made a preliminary examination of this fragment; but it remained for Dr Samuel Feigin to subject it to a thorough study. The rest of this article therefore is entirely his. The editors feel that,

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Compare also Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher and MSS^{o,l,2} which mention Rabbi Yehōshua first. Cf. ד.ס, note פ. For the writing רבמי רבסי cf. Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי, p. 86.

[39] Talmud adds רב. For its omission see MSS^{o,l,2}.

[40] איכא is written as usual in Talmud. The writer, however, intended to omit the final א and put a dot over the מ. Cf. note 125.

[41] Here the text is very confused in the Talmud and Pōseḳīm. The fragment omits entirely about the Ninth of Ab. For the same omission see MS^{m}. The text of the fragment is in essential accordance with Alfāsī. See ד.ס, p. 250, notes א, ש, ר.

[42] הלכות גדולות and Alfāsī add here ועויטה כמין כלים נגובים.

[43] Note the writing חושייש with a י.

[44] Talmud has וכן.

[45] Talmud writes without א.

[46] The text of the fragment is exactly as that of Alfāsī.

[47] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 77b and is connected with the statement about רחיצה. The author of the fragment set them apart. Compare הלכות גדולות p. 61, העיטור p. 44cd, and אור זרוע second part, p. 127.

[48] The word is apparently חם, namely, חסר "missing," and refers to the right margin.

[49] We expect here ירוש. The last letter is rather ם and the word must be חם.

[50] The text is from Jer. Yōmā 44d.

[51] Jer. adds שהיא, but it is omitted in Rabbi Ḥananēl.

[52] The words show where the margin shall be inserted.

[53] The text is found in B. Yōmā 78b.

[54] Talmud has the participle מיבעיא, but Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have the perfect, as the fragment.

[55] There is space for two more letters and we expect two more words בן לוי.

[56] The question about a public fast-day is omitted here.

[57] The text of the fragment seems to have been mutilated in order to make it accord with the present text of the Talmud, but without success. The original text of the fragment was apparently as follows:

וכן ר' אליעזר דמן נוי התיר ' רבה בר בר חנא נפיק ב... ובסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים ' רב יהודה נפיק...

But this text disagrees with the text of the Talmud, according to which Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā relates the actions of Rabbi Eleazar on a public fast-day. On this occasion he asked him about the Day of Atonement, and was answered that it makes no difference. To bring the text of the original fragment in accordance with the text of the Talmud, the editor encircled the statement of Rabbi Eleazar, put small circles around the words "Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā went out" to indicate apparently that these words precede the others, and added בעא מיניה אמ ליה מותר. However, there was no need to ask since only יום הכפורים was mentioned and the words בעא מיניה were, therefore, scratched out, and added, however, on the margin. The following passage ...רב יהודה נפיק was moved further away.

[58] Talmud אלעזר, but compare MS^{m} for the first statement of Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā, where it has אליעזר. These two names may be identified. See ד.ס, p. 251, note ח.

[59] Talmud has here the more familiar ננוה, for נוי. See MS^{2}. Cf. S. Klein, ארץ ישראל, note to section 95.

[60] The rest of the subject was wiped away. Since the *verso* begins with אמר שמואל we may think that a part of the passage of the Talmud, dealing with נעילת הסנדל, was originally written in the space, which is now wiped away, and thus made place for the insertion.

Left margin:

והלכתא[61] הקטע אסור לצאת
[בקב] שלו ביום הכפורים בין ד[א]ית
[ביה בי]ת קבול [כתיתין] בין דלית בי[ה]
[קבול] דמנעל [ה]וא:

Verso:

אמ׳[6] שמואל כל[62] מ[ח]מת סכנת עקרב מותר[:]
פיס׳ ובתשמיש המטה׳[63] תנן התם מקום שנהגו להדליק את הנר בלילי
[יום ה]כפור[ים]
מדליקין מקום שנהגו שלא להדליק אין מדליקין מדליקין[64] בבתי כניסיות[65]
ובבתי מ[דרשות ובמבואות]
האפלים ועל גבי החולים: תאנא[5] בין שאמרו להדליק ובין שאמרו שלא
להדליק לא[66] אמרו [אלא]
משום דבר אחר[67]: ירוש׳ תני[68] ר׳ שמעון בן אלעזר אומ׳[6] [י]ום הכפורים
שחל להיות בשבת אפילו
במקום שלא [נ]הגו להדליק מדליקין׳ ר׳ סימון בשם ר׳ יהושע בן לוי ר׳
[יוסי] ב[ן] ש[או]ל בשם רב..[69] [ה]לכה
כר׳ שמעון בן אלעזר: דרש ר׳ חייה רבה[70] לטבריה[71] כהדה[72] דר׳ שמעון
בן אלעזר:

Written horizontally:

[פיס׳][3] האוכל ביום הכפו[רים] וכולי עד מצטרפין: גמ׳ ירוש׳[73] אמ׳[6] ר׳ יוסי[74]
[זאת] אומרת שהוא צריך
למעך את חללה דלכן[75] נתני[(?)] כמ[וה ו]כגרעינתה[76] וכחללה[77]: תני ר׳
שמעון בן אלעזר אומר בכותבת נמרית: באעי[78,5] רב פפא כותבת[79]
הגסה שאמרו[80] י[בשה]
דלחה היא[81]
או לחה ואסיקנה[82] דבלחה[81] אמרו ד[גם]ה תנן[83] כמה דגסה: אמ׳[6] רחבה[84]
דלחה אמרו[81]
אמ׳[6] ר׳ יהודה כותבת הגסה שא[מרו]

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[61] The margin is not a copy from the Talmud, but is connected with the passage of the Talmud about קטע (B. Yōmā 78b). The reason someone wrote it on the margin must be that he intended to copy only extracts from the Talmud itself. A later addition was attached to this margin to modify its statement.

[62] The passage is in B. Yōmā 78b. The Talmud has אם. For the text of the fragment see הלכות גדולות p. 61b, מאה שערים pp. 54–55, and Alfāsī.

[63] The passage is in B. Pesāḥīm 53b.

although no important conclusions have been reached, and although Dr Feigin presents his transcription, notes, and general remarks, with great diffidence on this account, the fragment remains a problem which might be of importance to Genizah students, and ought therefore to be presented in this volume. Dr Feigin wishes to express grateful acknowledgment to Mr S. B. Maximon, of the Jewish Institute of Religion, and Rabbi Z. W. Leiter, of Pittsburg, for the loan of needed books.

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[64] Talmud has ומרליקין.

[65] Talmud omits the י after the נ. Cf. notes 29, 43.

[66] Talmud has שניהן לדבר אחד נתכוונו.

[67] אחר is erroneously written instead of אחד. It must be due to negligence on the part of the copyist.

[68] The Jerusalem Talmud, Pesāḥīm 31a.

[69] Jer. has רבי. But it seems that some name is missing there. The final letter in the fragment does not seem to be a י. Perhaps the name is רׄ בא?

[70] Jer. בר בא, namely, בר אבא. The text of the fragment דבה seems to be inferior. See Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי p. 81 ff.

[71] Jer. has a י after ט.

[72] Jer. כהדא with א.

[73] This is copied from Jer. Yōmā (44 d near the end).

[74] Jer. יוסה.

[75] Jer. דל כן separately written.

[76] Jer. כגלעינתה. But compare Tōsephōth Yōmā 79a.

[77] Jer. מחללה which is surely not correct. See Tōsephōth, *ibid.*

[78] The text is an extract from B. Yōmā 79–80.

[79] Talmud ככותבת and omits הגסה.

[80] The Talmud, as well as the Pōseḳīm, had a corrupted text which caused many artificial explanations. The text of the fragment has the support of MS[2] which has

ככותבת הגסה שאמרו בלחה או ביבשה

See ד.ס, p. 254, note נ. According to this, the text of the Talmud should be reconstructed as follows:

בעי רב פפא כותבת הגסה שאמרו לחה או יבשה. בעי רב אשי עצם כשעורה בקליפתה או בלא קליפתה. רב אשי לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב פפא גסה תנן כמה דגסה. רב פפא לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב אשי בקלפתה שבלת מקדי שלא בקליפתה אושלא מיקרי.

The present text of the Talmud seems to be formed by the following circumstances: A copyist omitted the words לחה או יבשה and wrote בעי רב פפא כותבת הגסה שאמרו בעי רבאשי . . . When he noticed his mistake, he wrote the words לחה או יבשה above the line. The second copyist inserted the words in the wrong place. When it was noticed that the inquiry of Rab Pāpā remained without any subject, somebody added בגדעינתה או שלא בגרעינתה although the inquiry about this is impossible. See ד.ס, p. 254, note נ.

[81] The copyist wrote דבלחה instead of דלחה and placed a circle around the word to indicate that it is wrong and wrote the correct word in smaller script at the beginning of the line above (דלחה היא) and beneath it (דלחה אמרו).

[82] This is a usual term in Alfāsī and Rabbi Ḥananēl. The fragment omits the inquiry of Rab Ashī.

[83] Talmud has גסה איתמר כל כמה דגסה, but MSS have correctly ...גסה תנן כמה. See ד.ס, note ה.

[84] Talmud has רבא which is impossible (Cf. I. Halevy, דורות הראשונים, vol. ii, p. 475 f.). MS[m] has רבה, but MSS[o,l,2] have correctly, as the fragment, רחבה.

4 יתירה מכביצה וקים להו לרבנן דבהכי מיתבא דעתא[85] ובציר[86] מהכי לא
מיתבא דעתא[85]׳ רב זב[יד][87]

5 אמ׳[6] כותבת הגסה שאמרו חסירה[88] [מכ]ביצה דתנן[89] אד כמה מזמנין
פחותה
עד כזית[90] ר׳ יהודה אומר עד כ[ביצה]

6 ואמרינן[91] במאי קאמיפלגי ר׳ מאיר סבר ואכלת זו אכילה ושבעת זו
שתיה ואכילה בכזית ור׳ יהודה סבר [ואכלת]

7 ושבעת אכילה שישבה שביעה וא[י]זו זו[92] כביצה ואי סלקא דעתא
כותבת הגסה[93] יתירה מכביצה השתא כ[ביצה]

8 שבועי משבעא יתובי[94] דעתא לא[מ]יתבא אלא[95] שמע מינה כותבת
הגסה שאמרו פחותה מכביצה[96] : מי....[97]

9 כל שיעורין שבתורה[98] בכזית יום הכפורים[99] מאי טעמ׳[12] ככותבת׳ מתוך
ששינה הכ[תוב במשמעו לא תעונה]

10 ולא כתוב לא תאכל[100] שינו חכמים בשיעורו[101] ככותבת[102] ושיעורין[103]
הלכה למשה מסיני הין : פיס׳[3] והשותה מ[לא]

11 לוגמיו וכולי אמ׳[6] רב יהודה אמ׳[6] שמואל לא מלא לוגמיו ממש אלא כל
שאילו יסלקם[104] לצד אחד ויראה כמל[א]

12 לוגמיו והא אנן מלוא לוגמיו תנן[105]׳ א[לא] מלא לוגמיו׳ מותיבי[106] כמה
ישתה ויהא חייב [בית] שמא אומרין [ר]בי[עית][107]

(*Remainder missing*)

Verso backward :

1 וקימא[108] [לן] כ[ר]ב הונא ור[ב נחמן ד]מחנכי[ן][109] או[תן]

2 חדא[110] דרב[י]ם אינון ור׳ [*erasure*] יוחנן יחיד ויחיד

3 ורבים הלכה כרבים [ו]עוד[111] דבתראי נינהו ועוד

4 דמחמרי טפי [ו]כר[יד]הום[112] סבירי[ן] מילי[ן] והכין נמי

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[85] Talmud has דעתיה.

[86] Talmud has ובציר. Before it was written on the fragment ובאציר as if it were a participle, but it was scratched out and written above וב, namely, ובציר.

[87] The fragment omits the passage from מיתיבי 79a to דלא שכיחי פירי 79b, the author not thinking it of importance for his purpose.

[88] Talmud has חסירה. In the fragment פחותה is written under it, apparently, in explanation.

[89] The fragment omits the passage which follows דתנן, which was rejected in the Talmud, and continues with the following passage.

The fragment begins with a heading: "Laws [concerning] Prohibitions of the Fast of the Day of Atonement." Then follow three Talmudic extracts on Washing. Between the first two and the present third section there seems to have been another on the same subject; but at present the space is filled by an extract from Maimonides on entering into the Holy of Holies and the Temple. The last line of this insertion comes just under the first line of the passage on Washing. Between the second passage and the insertion from Maimonides is a note stating that the law permitting bathing in case of pollution, even on the Day of Atonement, is no longer in force; and the authority is a Rabbi Moses, apparently Maimonides. This note continues upside down in smaller script behind the lines. Two line-spaces below the passage on Washing there follows one on Anointing. At the end

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[90] Talmud adds דברי רבי מאיר. For the omission in MSS^{m,1,2} see ד·ס, p. 256, note ב.

[91] This word is omitted in the Talmud, but is found in MS^{2}. See ד·ס, *ibid.*

[92] Talmud has ואי זה זה זה, but אבילה is feminine.

[93] Talmud adds שאמרו, but it is omitted in MSS^{m,o}. See ד·ס, p. 257.

[94] The infinitive absol. is omitted in the Talmud, but it is found in MS^{o}. See ד·ס, note ג.

[95] Talmud adds לאו, but it is omitted in MSS. See ד·ס, *ibid.*

[96] Talmud adds כביצה משבעא ככותבת מיתבא דעתיה. The phrase is omitted in MS^{m} and is superfluous.

[97] Talmud has תניא רבי אומר.

[98] Talmud has כל השיעורין כולן.

[99] The wording of the entire passage is not found in the Talmud, but it is extracted from it, after omitting the טמאת אוכלין about which the writer of the fragment was not concerned.

[100] The phrase לא תעונה ולא כתוב לא תאכל is omitted in the Talmud, but found in MS^{2}. See ד·ס, p. 257, note ו.

[101] Talmud has Aramaic בשיעוריה.

[102] The rest of the passage is omitted.

[103] Talmud adds ועונשין.

[104] Talmud has יסלקנו. Compare Job xxi, 16 טובם=טובנו.

[105] Talmud has והא אנן תנן מלוא לוגמיו, but MSS have the same text as the fragment.

[106] Talmud has correctly מיתיבי, but also מותיבי is possible. See Margolis, *The Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, section 38.

[107] The rest of the passage is now missing. It was wiped away in order to gain space for the passage from the Talmud which is written in smaller script. It surely contained the passage about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a, to which the margin was attached.

[108] Although the text is badly preserved, we can with certainty state that it refers to the law about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a. Since its contents were not found in Talmud, they were written on the margin. Compare note 61.

The author decides about the fasting of children as does Rab Huna and Rab Naḥmān, and not as Rabbi Yōḥānān. The first phrase is found in Alfāsī.

[109] The words are badly preserved, but these words are fitting to the context.

[110] This argument is given in העיטור, 2nd part 45a.

[111] This argument is found in Rabbi Ḥananēl and Alfāsī.

[112] The following is written in smaller script and is possibly a later addition by the man who used it. He confirms the decision of the original writer. The first phrase is doubtful. Compare the argument of Rabbi Yeshāyā for his decision against the opinion of Rabbi Yōḥānān which is essentially the same as given here:

ופסק רבינו ישעיה דלית הלכתא כרבי יוחנן דהא אתותב

(See שבילי הלקט N. 312.)

5 פסק רבינו[113] חננאל [לאיס]ורא[114] מרבנן[115] [ואית][116] מאן דפסק
6 כ[ר יוחנן ואינ]ון רבינו יהודה הכהן רא[ש][117] ה[סדר][118]
7 וקאמ[119]... רב..[120]
8 ורבינו יצחק בעל[121] ..
9 [ד]פסק[122]
10 ואנן כתבי[נן נמ]י דסבירא לן דהלכה כרב הונא ורב
11 נחמן בתינו[קות]

1 גמ׳ אסור[123] ענוש כרת ה[וא] אמ׳[6] [ר׳] אלעא[124] ואיתימ׳[125] ר׳ ירמיה לא נצר[כ]ה אלא לחצי ש[יעו]ר׳ הניח[א]
2 למאן דאמ׳[6] חצי שיעור [א]סור[126] [אל]א למאן דאמ׳[6] חצי שיעור מותר[126] מ[אי] אי[כא ל]מימר דאיתמר
3 חצי שיעור ר׳ יוחנן [א]מ׳[6] אסור מן התורה ריש לקיש אמ׳[6] מותר[126]׳ [ר׳][127] יוחנן אמ׳[6]
4 אסור[126] כיון דחאזי[5] לאיצטרופי איסורא אכיל[128] ריש לקיש אמ׳[6] מותר[126] אכיל[ה] אמ׳[6]
5 [רחמנא] והא לאו אכילה [היא][129]׳ הניחא לר׳ יוחנן אלא לריש לקיש מאי איכא למימר מודה
6 [ריש] לקיש דאסור[130] מ[דר]בנן׳ וכל[131] היכא[132] דענוש כ[ר]ת לא קתאני[133,5] אסור [ו]התניא
7 אע״פ שאמרו אסור בכ[ו]לן אין[134] ענוש כרת אלא האוכל[135] ושותה ועושה מלאכה
8 בלבד׳ הכי קאמ׳[6] [כש]אמרו אסור לא אמרו אלא בכחצי שיעור אבל בשיע[ור ענוש]
9 כרת ואין[136] ענוש כרת [אל]א האוכל[135] והשותה בלבד[137] ועושה מלאכה בלבד׳ איבעית[138]
10 אימ׳[125] כי קתאני[5] אסור אשארא דתנ[ו] רבה ורב יוסף בשאר סיפרי דבי רב מנין [ל]יו[ם]
11 הכפורים שאסור ב[ר]חיצה ובסי[כ]ה[139] בנעילת[138] הסנדל ובתשמיש המטה תל שב[תון]

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[113] See note 111.

[114] The word is not well preserved, but there are traces of the letters. Perhaps the questioned letter was ו.

[115] The last letter is not certain, but it fits the context.

of this a line was omitted ; and this is added in the margin with marks indicating its insertion. Then follows a passage on the wearing of shoes, the ending of which is mutilated by erasures, circles, and marginal corrections. The text is interrupted in the middle. Then is inserted a law from Maimonides on salting the sacrifices. Then comes a three-fold colophon in which the writer thanks God for helping him to explain these laws. On the left-hand margin is a law about a cripple who is forbidden to use his peculiar shoe on the Day of Atonement. There must have been something about this in the original text, which was removed to accommodate the passage from Maimonides. To the decision on the margin a much confused note is attached. In the midst are a few faint words in Aramaic, relating to the subject, but belonging to an earlier entry on top of which this was written. As we see from the narrowness of the space, both notes were written after the passage from Maimonides was filled in. At the end of the *recto* are two lines which seem to be the remains of the original text, upside down, and which escaped the erasure. They treat of a subject apparently from Middōth. In the space between the Talmudic passage on the wearing of shoes and the insertion from Maimonides are a few unintelligible words.

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[116] The restoration is not certain.

[117] The restoration is not beyond doubt. If this restoration is correct we may have here an allusion to the leader of the Babylonian section at Fusṭāṭ. See for this person Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine, under the Fāṭimids*, vol. ii, p. 101, note 2, and elsewhere.

[118] Here follows another illegible word or ligature.

[119] The word seems to be a remainder of the former text. The rest is wiped away.

[120] The word is not clear.

[121] The name of the book is not clear. Perhaps we have here the Alfāsī referred to. The letters are pĕrhaps מֹסֹ, namely, מגלת סתרים. Compare Mann, vol. i, p. 297, note 1.

[122] If the preceding suggestion is correct the text could be restored כרב הונא ורב נחמן.

[123] The passage is found in B. Yōmā 73b.

[124] Talmud אילא, but MS^{m} אלעא. See ד.ס., p. 220, note א.

[125] Here תימו without א. Cf. note 40.

[126] Talmud adds מן התורה. Cf. MS^{2}. See ד.ס., p. 220, note ב, p. 221, note י.

[127] The arguments of Rabbi Yōḥānān and Rēsh Lāḳish are omitted in the Talmud in this place, but followed at the end of the passage with the introductory word גופא (*ibid.* 74).

[128] Talmud adds קא.

[129] Talmud has וליכא, but see MSS^{o,1}, ד.ס., p. 220, note י.

[130] Talmud has Hebrew יש. In MS^{2} אמר לך ריש לקיש מאי אסור נמי. See ד.ס., p, 220, note ב.

[131] B. Yōmā 74a. The passage which precedes this in the Talmud is omitted here since it has nothing to do with the Day of Atonement.

[132] Talmud adds דתני, but it is omitted in the MSS. See ד.ס., p. 221, note ח.

[133] Talmud omits the ק.

[134] Talmud has לא אמרו, but cf. MSS^{2,1} in ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

[135] Talmud adds על.

[136] Talmud adds ואפילו שענוש כרת. MSS^{2,1} have the same text as the fragment. See ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

[137] The word was scratched out by the writer as soon as he realised his mistake.

[138] Talmud adds ו.

[139] Talmud omits the ו.

12 שבות : תנו[140] רבנן תענו את נפשותיכם[141] וכל מלאכה לא תעשו׳ מה
מלאכה שחייבין עליה[142]

13 [במ]קום אחר אף ענוי נפש שחייבין עליו במקום אחר ואי זה זה זה
פיגול ונותר׳ מרבה[143] אני

14 [פיגול] ונותר שהן ב[היכר]ת[144] ולא ארבה[143] טבל[145] שאינו בהיכרת[144]
תל[146] ועניתם את נפשותיכם

15 [ר י]בה׳ מרבה[143] א[ני טבלים[147] שהן] במיתה ולא ארבה[143] נבלות[147]
שאינן במיתה

16 תל[146] ועניתם את נפשותיכם ריבה׳ מ[רבה[143] אני נבלות שהן בלאו
ולא ארבה[143] חו]לין

17 [שאינן] בלאו [תל[146] ועניתם את] נפשותיכם ריבה׳ מרבה[143] אני חוליו[144]
שאינן בעמוד[148]

18 [ואכו]ל ולא ארבה[143] תרומה[144] ומעשר שני[149] שהן בעמוד[148] ואכול
תל[146] ועניתם את

19 [נפשותיכם ר]יב[ה׳] מרבה[143] אני תרומה ומעשר שני[149] שאינן בבל
תותירו ולא

20 [אר]בה[143] קדשים[144] שהן בבל תותירו תל תענו[150] את נפשותיכם ריבה׳

Insertions : No. 1 *: Recto :*

10 הילכות[151] ביאת [המקד]ש

11 אזדרינהו[152] רחמנא לכהנ[יא] דלא למיעל לקודש קודשיא דלא בעידן
ולא להיכלא
שנ
פולחנא דכתי[153] ואל יבוא בכל עת אל

12 הקודש זה קודש הקדשים מב[י]ת לפרכת להזהיר על כל הבית וכל[154]
כהן שנכנס לקודש הקדשים בשאר ימות

13 השנה בין כהן גדו[ל[155] ובין כה]ן הדיוט וב[י]ן[156] כהן גדול שנכנס לו
ביום הכפורים שלא בשעת עבודה חייב מיתה בידי

14 שמים שנ ולא ימות[157] אבל[158] הנכנס להיכל[159] [לא] לעבודה או
להשתחויה[160] בין כהן[161] גדול בין כהן הדיוט לוקה ואינו חייב מיתה

15 שנא[162] ולא ימות על קודש הקדשים במיתה ועל ש[אר] הבית בלאו ולוקה :

Under line 16 *:*

כמה[163] פעמים הוא נכנס לשם[164] ארבע[165] ....

The *verso* begins with a final sentence on the wearing of shoes. Then follows a passage from the Babylonian Talmud on the lighting of candles on the Day of Atonement, and another from the Jerusalem Talmud on the same act when it occurs on the Sabbath. After this there is a blank space and a marginal note. The next passage, on the side, contains passages from both Talmuds, on Eating—that from the Babylonian shortened considerably. This is followed by something about Drinking, interrupted in the middle by an erasure, in which is inserted a Talmudic excerpt in smaller script. On the margin, from the bottom up, is a note on the fasting of children, referring probably to the original text here erased. It seems to be by a later writer, and bears the name of Rabbi Ḥananēl, as well as the names of authorities otherwise minded, though the names and the analysis are uncertain. There is some illegible writing behind and above.

There are thus four elements in the fragment: 1. A main text, dealing with laws on the Day of Atonement, and taken from the Talmud. 2. Marginal notes on decisions touching such laws. 3. Inaccurate extracts from Maimonides. 4. Additions to the main text.

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[140] B. Yōmā 74b. Talmud has another apocryphal Mishnah, but it is omitted in Jer. Yōmā 44d.

[141] Talmud adds יכול ישב בחמה ובצינה ויצטער תל. For the text of the fragment see MS^{m} in ד.ס, p. 222. Cf. note ע.

[142] The text agrees with MSS (see ד.ס, note פ), while the Talmud has דבר שחייבין עליו.

[143] Talmud has אביא, but $MSS^{o,l}$ have מרבה אני and ארבה. See ד.ס, p. 223, notes ר, ת, ה.

[144] We have here the origin of כרת. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. ii, p. 420.

[145] Talmud adds .... את ה.

[146] Talmud adds תענו. Some $MSS^{m,o,l}$ have only this and omit ועניתם. However MS^{2} has the same text as the fragment. See ד.ס, notes ק, ש, א, ד.

[147] Thus $MSS^{o,l}$, but Talmud נבלה...הטבל.

[148] Talmud בקום. For עמוד see $MSS^{o,l}$ in ד.ס, note ב.

[149] This is omitted in Talmud and has consequently the singular. For the text of the fragment compare ד.ס, notes ג, ב.

[150] Talmud adds ועניתם. But it is omitted in $MSS^{m,o,l}$. Cf. ד.ס, notes ק, ה.

[151] The text is from Maimonides יד החזקה, הלכות ביאת המקדש, ב, ג–ד.

[152] The first sentence is changed here from Hebrew into Aramaic. The original has והוזהרו כל הכהנים שלא יכנסו לקדש או לקדש הקדשים שלא בשעת עבודה

[153] The word שנאמר, which is put above the text, is in the original and is better fitting than דכתיב.

[154] Original omits ו.

[155] Original has reversed order.

[156] Original או.

[157] Original has here וכמה פעמים הוא נכנס. In the fragment it is at the end.

[158] Original only ו.

[159] Original has instead לקדש חוץ לקדש הקדשים.

[160] Original להשתחוות.

[161] Original reverse order and omits כהן.

[162] Original adds אל פני הכפרת.

[163] See note 157.

[164] Original adds ביום הכפורים.

[165] The last letters seem to be a ligature ואכמל namely, ואין כאן מקום להאריך. Original has ...וכבר בארנו.

No. 2: Recto:

32 הילכות[166] מלח

33 הילכות השבתת מלח

להקריב קרבן בלא מלח

34 הזהירנו[167] הקבה שלא להשבית[168] המלח מעל הקרבנות שנא ולא תשבית
מלח ברית

35 אלהיך[169] וכל המקריב[170] קרבן חוץ מיין הנסכים והדם והעצים בלא מלח

36 כלל הריזה לוקה[171] ואעפ שלוקה הקרבן כשר והורצה חוץ מן המנחה

37 שהמלח מעכב בקומצה[172] שנא ולא תשבית ברית אלהיך מעל מנחתיך[173]:

38 בריך[174] רחמנא דסייען [למגמר]

39 פירוש הילכות השבתת מלח

40 הלכה זו פשוטה היא בריך רחמנא דסי[יען]

41 סליקו להו הילכות השבתת מלח גירסא ופירושא...

Addition[175] *to recto, lines 7–8* (הרואה קרי):

8 פי אלפירושא[176]... הא[177] דתניא הא מילתא חזיא ליה לרבינו משה הרב
הגדול דאוקמ

9 האי שמעתא[178] אוקמה רבינו משה[179] הרב
מימרא איקמיה
הגדול נ.[180] בחיבורא דיליה[181]
בשעה שתיקנו

Verso:

1 טבילה לבעלי קרין וכבר ביטלוה לטבילותא

2 הילכך[182]

3 וטעמ דמסתבר הוא

4 ואעפ שאין דעתו שלימה מתקררת עד שיטבול

Addition to קטע (*left margin of recto*):

1 לא[183] יחרם

2 אלא[184] אלגויד.....[185]

3 הדה אלקצא[186] קב

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[166] The original is in Maimonides יד החזקה, הלכות אסורי מזבח, ה, יא–יב. It has two inadequate headings.

[167] It is a free rendering of the original: מצות עשה למלוח כל הקרבנות קודם שיעלו למזבח.

[168] The words written above explain the word להשבית.

[169] Original quotes על כל קרבנך תקריב מלח.

[170] Original has הקריב שאין לך דבר שקרב למזבח בלא מלח חוץ מיין הנסכים הדם והעצים. בלא מלח כלל לוקה.

[171] Here is added שנאמר ולא תשבית מלח ברית אלהיך.

[172] Original has בקמיצה.

[173] Omitted in original.

[174] This is a colophon, which is written in three different ways in order to fill in the space.

The main body of the text is not simply copied from the Talmud. It does not follow the same order as the latter, even including a passage from Pesāḥīm; it omits portions of passages when irrelevant to the purpose in hand; it combines both Talmuds; and it uses the Talmudic expression תנן התם for a Mishnah from another treatise. Our fragment is thus clearly a codification, perhaps from some pōsēḳ, though different from those commonly known. It reminds one of Alfāsī and other African scholars. It uses the technical term ואסיקנה; regards both Talmuds as equally authoritative; omits unnecessary text; and agrees on the fasting of children. On the other hand there is no explanation of words and phrases; and the text itself contains no decisions. We may conclude that this codification could dispense with explanations and decisions, because it was to be used by a teacher, or with the help of a teacher. The character of the erasures and additions, as above described, point rather to the conclusion that we have here a teacher's notes. It seems not to have been taken from an existing pōsēḳ, but to have been composed independently for teaching purposes, and there may have been other pages of the same sort, covering the other holy days. The spiritual leaders of communities were accustomed to teach them the laws concerning each holy day thirty days in advance. Our fragment might be the memorandum of such a teacher; and it might even have gained currency, as a sort of מגלת סתרים in distinction from a מגלה. (Cf. Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. iii, p. 17.) The Mishnah was not included, because it was already known to the pupils, or more easily available. Possibly Alfāsī's work was called מגלת סתרים for the same reason. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1.

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[175] The addition seems to have been put in after the space was filled with the insertion copied from Maimonides.

[176] It seems to be Arabic. The rest is not clear. "In explanation"...

[177] The line was partly crossed out.

[178] The word שמעתא was explained by מימרא.

[179] Here reference is surely made to Maimonides.

[180] The first letter seems to be certainly a נ. The second letter, unfortunately, is not clear. The word is apparently a ligature. It was either נֵי, in which case Maimonides was alive, or נַע, in which case he had already died. The lack of space urged the writer not to be extravagant in titles. הרב הגדול is the usual title for Maimonides.

[181] יד החזקה, הלכות שביתת עשור, ג, ג. For the designation of this work as חבור see Ḳobeṣ 1, 25[c]. (Cf. Mann, vol. ii, p. 316.)

[182] Some words are omitted, namely ...אסור לטבול.

[183] The addition to קטע was written after the insertion from Maimonides was made and thus there was no space left for it, and therefore filled in the space in wedge form. The beginning is in Arabic, the end in Hebrew and in the middle are some words in Aramaic.

[184] The glossator intends apparently to define what קב is prohibited. And he states: "It is forbidden only....."

[185] The word is badly written and the letters are indistinguishable. From the context we may assume that it designates the form of the קב which is forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. This must be in the form of a shoe, otherwise there is no reason for its being forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. Cf. Tōsephōth to Yōmā 78b.

[186] Perhaps the same word is referred to in Tōsephōth, *ibid.* אישקצא.

4 אלכשב[187] אלאיגוז

5 אלכרוג בוא

6 פי יום הכפורים

7 [ ] אל...

8 ..א.

9 דאתי[188] לאתויי

10 ד אמות

11 ברש הרבים

12 ולהדא

13 חרמת[189]

14 ביום הכפורים

15 לפיכך גם

16 לב.. גם

17 בבית

18 מותר[190]

Recto backward:

1 פי חיל[191] בית בין[192]...

2 [מ]קום מידות[193] ותוכו ארבע[י]ם

אמה ואמה טרקסין ועשרים אמה[194]...

3 אמ[195,6] ר נתן אמה טרקסין לא

הכריעו[196] חכמים אי כלפנים

אי כלחוץ

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[187] The words are the Arabic الخشب العجوز الخروج.

[188] These few words are a remainder of an earlier note in Aramaic.

[189] This is apparently the end of the Arabic note.

[190] This seems to be the end of the note from which few words remained in Aramaic. Cf. note 188.

[191] It seems that we have here an explanation of חיל. Cf. Levy, *s.v.*

The fragment in its present state contains the names of Maimonides, Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rabbi Judah ha-Kōhēn, and Rabbi Isaac. But the last one is uncertain, and all four are probably younger than the text, Maimonides at any rate. The text itself is a copy, as may be seen from errors, corrections, omissions and inconsistencies, of a sort very unlikely in an original. No conclusion as to date is possible.

If we look for a likely author, someone from the country of Rabbi Ḥananēl, a teacher, to whom a מגלת סתרים was attributed, we may choose Rabbi Nissīm Gā'ōn, author of ספר המפתח. See דור דור ודורשין, vol. iv, pp. 236–238. By מגלת סתרים was meant, however, particularly the teacher's comments, preserved by the pupils, and not intended by the teacher for publication. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix, 315 ff. The present fragment is the text-book, to which the comments and their results were attached. Thus the present fragment contains a passage from the Jerusalem Talmud about כותבת which is quoted from Rabbi Nissīm by the 'Ārūkh, apparently from his מגלת סתרים.

The fragment is important if it proves to be a page from the מגלת סתרים, or even from some text-book. In any case it has a text superior to that of the printed edition of the Talmud, in the sense that it combines the best of the known variant readings; and it may well be the old African recension of this time.

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[192] The phrase is not well preserved and is not clear.

[193] Mishnah Middōth 4, 7.

[194] In the Mishnah בית קדש הקדשים. There is not enough space for all these. Perhaps we have here a ligature.

[195] B. Yōmā 52a.

[196] Talmud adds בו.

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Talmūd Bablī, meaning the printed Talmud, Wilna, 1881: Text, Rashī, Tōsephōth, Rabbi Ḥananēl, Tōsephōth Yeshānīm, Rabbi Asher.

Talmūd Jerūshalmī, Louis Lamm, Berlin, 1920. (Photographic reproduction of Krotoschin edition.)

For the MSS: דקדוקי סופרים (abbreviated: ד.ס.) of Raphael Rabbinowicz, 1871. The Munich MS is designated by a small m, the second MS of the same place by 2, the Oxford by o, the British Museum by l (London), following the Hebrew marks used by Rabbinowicz.

The following Pōseḳīm, which partly share the methods of the writer of the fragment, were compared:

הלכות גדולות Warsaw, 1874, pp. 61–62.

Rabbi Ḥananēl, Wilna, 1881.

Alfāsī, Wilna, 1881.

מאה שערים of ר' יצחק בן ר' יהודה אבן גיאת printed in פירטה, תרכא, p. 49ff.

ספר העיטור of ר' יצחק בן ר' אבא מארי, printed in Lemberg, 1860, second part p. 44ff.

אור זרוע of ר' יצחק בן ר' משה from Vienna, printed in Zitomir, 1862, second part p. 162ff.

Rabbi Asher, printed in Wilna, 1881.

שבלי הלקט of ר' צדקיהו בר אברהם Wilna, 1866.

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{3}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded down the middle so as to form two leaves and four pages, all of which are covered with writing in the same difficult cursive Hebrew hand. On *verso* (*b*) the postscripts have been written diagonally.

The language is Arabic, with a colloquial tinge, at times very difficult, not only because of the strange constructions, but also on account of the many technical terms relating to wearing apparel and the like.

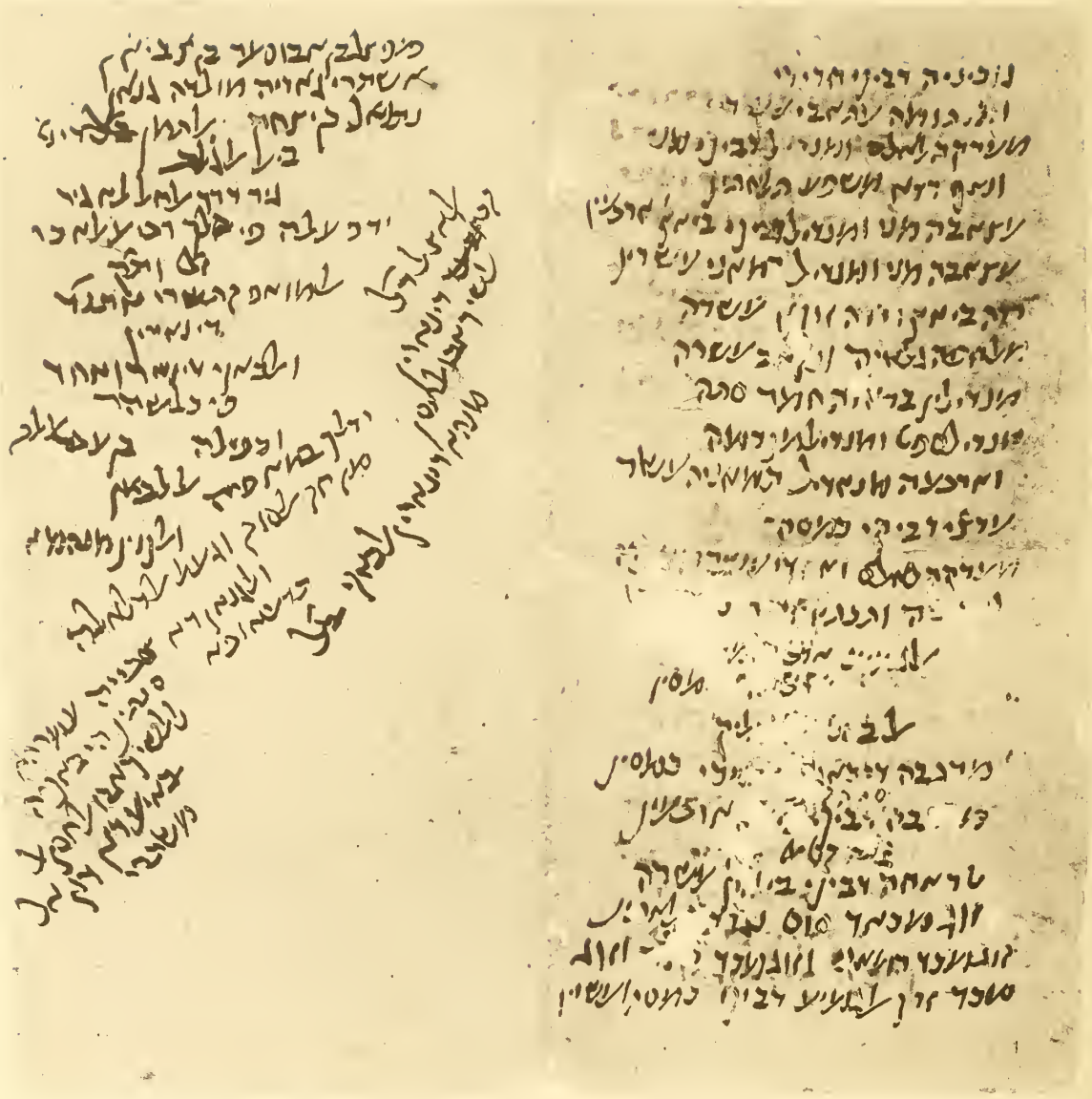
The date is A.D. 1141–1142.

Recto: (*a*)

1 אלקנין מן אלשיך אבו יעקוב יוסף בן אלדהבי
2 אנה יכתב אלמלך באלגויים בעד ג̄ אשהר
3 אב ואלול אתנג̄ ותשרי אתנד̄
4 באסם אבנתה ואלנקל ואלגעל
5 ויקום ללצבייה באלדי להא ענדה
6 מן אעלאק אבאעהא להא
7 ואלנקל ואלגעל עלי אלסנה יקום מן דלך
8 אלשיך אבו אלמפצל אברהם בן עובדייה
9 בג׳ דנא׳ ואלבאקי מן אלתסעה אלדנא׳
10 אלדי להא ואלשרט עליהא אן לם יפעל
11 אבוהא דלך תכרג̇ בלא מוכר
12 ואלשרט עלי אבו אלמפצל אנה לא
13 יצרבהא ולא ישתמהא ולא יטלב
14 מנהא פירות אלמלך ואנה קד געלהא
15 להא בכסותהא ומתי טלב מנהא פירות
16 כאן עליה תלאתה דנא׳ לאלמעוט ועלי
17 אנה קד תכדא מנהא וגעלהא ברסם
18 אלכסות ואברא כל מנהם לצאחבה
19 אלאב ואלאבנה ואלזוג ואלכתובה

[1] I.e. "he will write in the name of."
[2] Era of Documents: Tammūz 1453 = July A.D. 1141.
[3] I.e. "turnover and make."
[4] See No. XL, Introduction and note 8.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 45 a



Genizah Fragment 45 b

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

The contents of the four pages seem to be unrelated. *Recto* (*a*) and (*b*) and *verso* (*a*) refer to marriage settlements, similar to those in No. XL. *Verso* (*b*) deals with a case, very interesting but not very clear. Mufaḍḍal, under the suretyship of al-Labbān, buys of Abū al-Ḥasan—Muslims, all of them—the "offspring" of Janān Nathan Ben Isaac, the Jew; and another daughter of Nathan becomes the property of Abū al-Ḥasan. Nathan seems to have died or to have been forced in some unknown manner to permit such a transaction.

Recto: (*a*)

1 The possessions of the Sheikh Abū Jacob Joseph Ibn al-Dhahabī:
2 He will convey[1] the property [which is invested] among the gentiles after three months—
3 Āb and Elūl 1453, and Tishrī 1454[2]—
4 to his daughter, together with the profit and gain[3] [accruing from its investment].
5 And he will give to the girl what he has of hers, [accruing]
6 from apparel which he caused to be sold for her,
7 and the profit and gain[3] by the year. Of this [marriage settlement the bridegroom,]
8 the Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Abraham Ben Obadiah, shall provide
9 three dīnārs [muḳdām,][4] and [six dīnārs, me'ūḥār,][4] the rest of the nine dīnārs
10 which belong to her. And the condition [laid] upon her [is that], if her father
11 shall not do this, she shall go forth [from her father's house] without any purchase price[5] [from the bridegroom].
12 And the condition laid upon Abū al-Mufaḍḍal [is that] he shall not
13 beat her, nor insult her, nor demand
14 from her the fruits[5] of [her invested] property; for he has promised them to
15 her through her [investments in] apparel. And if he shall demand of her the fruits[6] [of her investment],
16 he shall be liable for three dīnārs for the .....[7]
17 and on condition that he has .....(?)[8] from her, whereas he promised them [to her] in the agreement
18 [about] the apparel. And each of them absolves his companions [from all liability]:
19 the father, and the daughter, and the husband. And the marriage contract

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[5] מוֹמכר for Hebrew מֹהַר or else for Hebrew מאוחר.

[6] Hebrew פֵּירוֹת, plural of פֵּרִי.

[7] Hebrew מְעוּת? [8] תַּכְשִׁיטִים?

20 באקיה עלי חאלהא בגמיע שרוטהא
21 מן אלמאוחר ואלנדוניא וסאיר אלשרוט
22 ואלעמארה לים לאבי אלמפצל
23 דא אלזאמה בשי מנהא ליוסף דא
24 בלאיש יעמרה יוסף דא פיהא ליסא לה
25 מטאלבה אבו אלמפצל דא ולא
26 לזוגתה בשי מנהא כתב בחדש
27 תמוז אתנג

Recto : (b)

1 קרצה דהב מגרייה כמסה כמסה
2 וכואתים דהב וכאתם פצה וכאתמין פצה
3 צרגין מדאללין לולו חצאר
4 מראה מחלאה רהן ענדהם עלי דינארין
5 דמלג ענבר תלאתה דנא׳ בפס דהב
6 מלעקה וזברייה ומילין ומרוחה
7 וקעבה פצה . . . אלכסף תלאתה דנ
8 גמכאהל בלור בג׳ ופמאס דהב תלאתה
9 רפאדה ובלטייה ודרג דינאר
10 אלגמיע מאיה וסבעה דנא׳
11 אלמלבוס
12 כלו[ע]ה תגב ביאץ חרירי
13 . . . . . מדהב ארב[עין]
14 . . . . . [חר]ירי
15 ומ . . . . . [ח]רירי כמסין
16 כלעה יאהו[די] ומעגרהא ארבעין
17 גוביניה לבכי [ומ]נדיל דביקי תלאתין
18 מלאה ח[רירי] שׁרפין ונקא[ב] כמסה ותלתי[ן]
19 תגב שמ[ם] מדהב מלבוס
20 ומנדיל אזרק תלאתין
21 גוב[יניה] דביקי זרקא
22 וכצי אזרק עשרין

[9] Vernacular Egyptian Arabic, the postpositive demonstrative *da*.

20 remains as it is in all its stipulations
21 as to the me'ūḥār and the nedunyāh[4], and the remaining conditions.
22 And [as to] the housekeeping: This[9] Abū al-Mufaḍḍal has no
23 responsibility for any part of it. This[9] Joseph has [the responsibility].
24 Without cost[10] he shall maintain [Abū al-Mufaḍḍal] in it. He has no [right to make any]
25 request of this Abū al-Mufaḍḍal, nor
26 of his wife for any part of it. Written in the month of
27 Tammūz 1453?[2]

Recto: (b)

1 A Hungarian (?) gold disc—five.
2 And gold rings[11], and a silver ring[12], and two silver rings—five.
3 Two saddles[13].....pearls, a saddle cushion.
4 A mirror.....said to be worth about two dīnārs.
5 A large amber armband [worth] three dīnārs, with a gold bezel (?)[14].
6 A spoon, and a deep bowl, and two collyrium sticks, and a fan[15].
7 And a silver cup.....[16]—three dīnārs.
8 A crystal.....for three [dīnārs], and a gold.....—three [dīnārs].
9 A saddle cushion and a.....and a jewel-box—[one] dīnār.
10 The whole [equals] a hundred and seven dīnārs.
11 The clothing:
12 A silk.....of white.
13 .....gilded—forty.
14 .....silk,
15 and.....silk—fifty.
16 A Jewish.....and its hood—forty.
17 A Labakī (?).....and a Dabīḳī[17] kerchief—thirty.
18 A silk cloak.....and niḳāb[18]—thirty-five.
19 A gilded sun.....[19] garment.
20 A blue kerchief—thirty.
21 A blue Dabīḳī[17].....[20]
22 and a blue.....—twenty.

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[10] Vernacular Arabic, *balāsh*. The pronunciation here indicated would be *balā'ish* or *balaish*.

[11] خَوَاتِم.

[12] This phrase has been deleted.

[13] I.e. سَرْجَيْنِ, with צ for ס.

[14] فصّ, with ס for צ.

[15] Deleted, then written above.

[16] Hebrew כֶּסֶף, "silver," "money"?

[17] According to Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 548, Dabīḳ was a place in Egypt, between al-Faramā and Tinnīs, at which a certain cloth was made.

[18] A kind of veil.

[19] תנב as in line 12.

[20] גוביניה as in line 17.

Verso : (a)

1 גוביניה דביקי חרירי
2 ומנתומה עתאבי עשרי[ן]
3 מערקה לאלם ומנדיל דביקי . . . .
4 ונצף רדא משפע תלאתין
5 עצאבה מני ומנדיל דביקי ביאין ארבעין
6 עצאבה מני ומנדיל ימאני עשרין
7 רדה ביאין ורדה זרקא עשרה
8 מלבוסה גלאיה ונקאב עשרה
9 מנדילין בר . . ה חמר סתה
10 מנדיל ספט ומנדיל מן דמה
11 וארבעה מנאדיל תמאניה עשר
12 ערצי דביקי כמסה
13 מערקה לאלם וא . די עשר[ין] ו[תל]תה
14 . . . . ה ותכתין . . . . . .
15 אלגמיע ארב[ע] מ[איה]
16 . . . . . [ח]מסין
17 אלב . ט . . . ליק
18 מרגבה דיבאג . . . ייכי כמסין
19 כא . . בה דביקי סתה . . . . ארבעין
20 . . . . קטם
21 טראחה דביקי בי[א]ין עשרה
22 זוג תכאד סוס נגיד תלאתין
23 זוג מכד רמאני וזוג מכד . . . וזוג
24 מכד זרק אלגמיע דביקי כמסה ועשרין

Verso : (b)

1 מפצל בן אבוסעד בן צביאן
2 אשתרי גאריה מולדה גנאן
3 נתנאל בן יצחק אלתמן בל דינ׳
4 ביע אלגלב

---

[21] According to Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*, a kind of taffeta originally of Bagdad.

[22] Persian لَاَس.

Verso: (*a*)

1 A silk Dabīḳī[17].....[19]
2 and an ʻAttābī[21].....—twenty.
3 A red silk[22] skull-cap, and a Dabīḳī kerchief.....
4 and a half cloak, doubled—thirty.
5 A Munyī[23] ʻiṣābah[24] and a Dabīḳī kerchief of white[25]—forty.
6 A Munyī ʻiṣābah and a Yemenite kerchief—twenty.
7 A white[25] cloak[26] and a blue cloak[26]—ten.
8 A.....garment and a niḳāb[18]—ten.
9 Two kerchiefs, with a.....of red[25]—six.
10 A kerchief of Saft[27] and a kerchief from.....
11 and four kerchiefs—eighteen.
12 A Dabīḳī ʻarḍā[28]—five.
13 A red silk[22] skull-cap and.....—twenty-three.
14 .....and two waist-bands.....
15 The total, four hundred.
16 .....fifty
17 .....
18 A.....of brocade.....—fifty.
19 A Dabīḳī.....[29].....—forty.
20 .....
21 A Dabīḳī coverlet of white—ten.
22 A pair of pillows: "Prince's Horse[30]"—thirty.
23 A pair of pomegranate-red pillows[31], and a pair of.....pillows[31], and a pair of
24 blue pillows[31]. The total of Dabīḳī [goods], twenty-five.

Verso: (*b*)

1 Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abū Saʻd Ibn Ṣubyān
2 has bought a slave-girl, the child[32] of Janān[33]
3 Nathaniel Ibn Isaac, the price [being] 32 dīnārs[34].
4 The sale of slaves

---

[23] For مُنْيِىّ(?) from مُنْيَة, the name of several pláces in Egypt.

[24] A kind of turban.

[25] The nominal form بَيَاض as in line 12 of *recto*: (*b*). Similarly حُمْر line 9.

[26] I.e. رِدَاء, as in line 4.

[27] Cf. Saft Abī Jirjā, Saft al-ʻUrfā and Saft al-Ḳudūr, Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 97–98.

[28] According to Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, *sub voce* "a kind of cloth."

[29] Above the line: "six."

[30] Hebrew סוס נגיד.

[31] I.e. مخادّ.

[32] مُوَلَّدَة. Why not بِنْت?

[33] I.e. "dark." Janān is *not* the seller. He is the father of the girl.

[34] There is a strange mark over the ב, and both numerals seem to have been deleted.

5 גיר דרך אלחאל לאגיר
6 ידפע לה פי דלך רביע אלאכר
7 זל ותק
8 אלמואפק תשרי אתנד
9 דינארין
10 ואלבאקי דינאר ואחד
11 פי כל שהר
12 וכפילה בן עבדאללה
13 אללבאן
14 ואלקנין מנהמא

1 ודלך במא פיה
2 מן חק אלסוק וגעאל אלדלאלה

1 ולגנאן דא צבייה עמרהא
2 כמא ופא סנתין הי באקיה
3 ללשיך אבו אלחסן אל
4 באיע דא דון אל
5 משתרי

1 אלאצל דל
2 קבא בעד דינארין
3 אלשיך אבואלחסן
4 מנהא דינארין אלבאקי בל

---

[35] רביע should have the article.

[36] The Muslim dating is unusual, and is due to the circumstance that the seller, purchaser and surety were Muhammadans. Both dates equal exactly Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1142.

at present [is] not otherwise than thus (?).
He [now] pays him in this [month of] Rabī'[35] al-Ākhir,
537 [A.H.][36],
corresponding to Tishrī, 1454, [Era of Documents][36],
two dīnārs,
and the remaining [thirty dīnārs he will pay at the rate of] one dīnār
every month.
And his security is Ibn 'Abd Allāh[36]
al-Labbān[37],
and the property of them both.

And this [has been agreed upon] together with what it involves
in the way of market-fees and auctioneer's commissions.

And this[38] Janān has a girl, aged—
according to settlement—two years. She remains [the property]
of this Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan[39], the
seller, instead of [becoming the property of] the
buyer.

The basic [price is] 34.
.....after[40] two dīnārs.
The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan[39] [takes]
from it two dīnārs. The remainder is [therefore] 32.

---

[37] I.e. "seller of sour milk," or "brick-maker."

[38] Vernacular Egyptian Arabic.

[39] This shows that Janān is *not* the seller. See note 33. The younger child is not "thrown in," but goes to the seller as a consideration.

[40] בעד has been deleted.

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with writing on one side only.

Hebrew, in cursive Hebrew characters, pointed in a most unusual way which can be due only partly to ignorance. The vowels are here printed as they stand, regardless of the translation.

1 יְיָ שְׁמָעָה אַל תְּפִלַּת עַמְּךָ וְאַל תַּחֲנוּנָם : אְשַׁר
2 שָׁפְכוּ חנוּנָם לְהתודות על עוֹנָם : בְּשַׁעֲרֵי רַחֲמֶיךָ
3 מַשְׂגִּיחִים כָּל הַמּוֹנָם : בְּדַלְתֵי פְּתָחֶיךָ דּוֹפְקִים הִנָּם
4 יְיָ סַלָּחָה גנותם חָטְאָם וּזְדוֹנָם : גְּזִיר דִּינָם
5 הַרַע מֵעָלָם וְעוֹלָם : דּוֹבְבִים לְרַצּוֹתָךְ בְּשִׁיר
6 הַגְיוֹנָם : דּוֹר מֵעֲרַב וְעַד עֲרַב לָךְ תְּלוּיוֹת עֵינָם :
7 בְּיֵי הַמַּעֲרִיב עֲרָבִים :
8 אַהֲבַת עוֹלָם יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמְּךָ אָהַבְתָּה תּוֹרָה וּמִצְוֹת
9 חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים אוֹתָנוּ לִמַּדְתָּה עַל כֵּן בְּשָׁכְבֵנוּ
10 וּבְקוּמֵינוּ תו בְּלִבֵּינוּ נָסִיחַ בְּחֻקֵּי רְצוֹנֶיךָ וְנִשְׁמַח
11 וְנַעֲלוֹז בְּדִבְרֵי [תַּלְ]מוּד תּוֹרָתֶךָ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד כִּי הֵם
12 חַיֵּינוּ וְאוֹרֶךְ יָמֵינוּ וּבָהֶם נֶהְגֶּה יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה
13 יְיָ הַקְשִׁיבָה הַגְיוֹן בַּת שׁוּבָבִים : הַמְדַבְּרִים
14 תַּחֲנוּנִים וְכַעֲנִיִּים נִצָּבִים : וְעֵדֶם בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ הָרַבִּים
15 אַשַׁר עַל כָּל מְרוּבִים : וּבְסֵפֶר חַיִּים יִהְיוּ נִכְתָּבִים :
16 זַעַק מְרֻבִּים צְמֵאִים וְרֵעֵבִים : זְדוֹנָם לְהַעֲבִיר
17 מֵחוֹת פִּשְׁעָם כְּעָבִים : חִי הוֹשִׁיבָם כִּי עָדֶיךָ
18 הֵם שָׁבִים : חבת אהבים תִּזְכּוֹר לְאוהֲבִים : בָּרוּךְ
19 אַתָּה יְיָ אוֹהֵב עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל : אָמֵן שְׁמַע :

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

A portion of the Yōm Kippūr service.

The copyist has disregarded the verse division indicated by the rime. There are traces of an initial acrostic extending from א to ת.

1 Lord, hearken unto the prayer of Thy people, and unto their supplication, who
2 pour out their entreaty, to confess their sins in the gates of Thy mercy,
3 watching, all the multitude of them, at the doors of Thy portals, knocking, behold them!
4 Lord, forgive their shame, their sin, and their wickedness, the mote of their evil
5 judgments, for ever and ever. [They] appeal to Thy favor (?) with the song
6 of their music. A generation whose eyes are raised to Thee from the evening unto the evening.
7 Blessed art Thou, O Lord, that bringest the evenings!
8 [With] a perpetual love hast Thou loved Israel, Thy people. With Law and commandments,
9 statutes and judgments, [hast Thou loved] us therefore accordingly, when we lie down
10 and when we arise. Also in our hearts.....by the statutes of Thy will, and happy
11 and rejoicing in the words of the study of Thy Law, forever and ever. For they
12 [are] our life, and the lengthening (?) of our days; and in them we meditate day and night.
13 Lord, give ear to the music of the house of wanderers (?), who speak
14 prayers, and, like the poor, stand up [before Thee]. Admonish (?) in Thy great mercy,
15 which is plentious, over everything. And in the Book of Life let them be written down.
16 Often do they cry out, thirsty and hungry, to put aside their wickedness—
17 the blotting out of their sins, like clouds. [O] Living [God] bring them back; for unto Thee
18 [would] they return. Remember Thou the love of lovers toward [their] beloved [ones]. Blessed [art]
19 Thou, Lord, that lovest Thy people, Israel! Amen! Hear!

XLVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, small but distinct, like those of Nos. XLI and XLVIII, though not identical with either.

The text is written in several directions, in order that the various postscripts and afterthoughts may not be confused. Two of these shorter additions are to be inserted into the text, and are here so printed, with asterisks.

The date is Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz; and the 23rd of Rajab, A.H. 460 (May 28, A.D. 1067), is in the immediate past.

Recto: (*a*)

בהית׳

1 השר והטפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני כמהר נב׳

2 אחרי הקורה מרחוק ואת להודיע לאדון כתבתי בארוכה לאדון כתב עם אלעאמירי

3 מתסאפיר הרבאעה שהלכה בחברת החכם כהר׳ יעקב בירב יצ׳ פי ת׳ עושרין

4 רגב סת׳ וואת להודיע לאדון כי איני יודע אם מגיעים הכתבים לאדון

5 שאומרים שלוכחים אותם מן הרצים וכעת זאת להודיע גם לאדון כעת היום

6 יום רביעי ז׳ לחדש תמוז הגיעה רבאעה כמו קנ׳ חמל גמאל ואסגאל

7 מע׳ מטה והסוחרים אשר בה מן אלשאם ומן נבלום ומן גזה ויש בם

8 סוחר אחד חליבי שמו סי׳ עלי ן׳ ע׳ אלעזיז אלחליבי והשוואם אשר בה

9 א׳ שמו סי׳ מחמוד ן׳ לולו וע׳ אלרחמן אלשמי וזולתם וחמשה משאיך של יהודים

10 והשאר כמו שהולך בקאימה הרבאעה בפרטות והגידו לנו הסוחרים

11 שהשיירה החאליבייא בקרוב בעהי׳ תבוא ולפי שלא מצאו להם ראש כדי

---

1 נכתב בצדה.

2 Apparently an epistolary formula, meaning "after the greeting." Perhaps קורת הרוח = הקורה.

3 מתסאפיר probably for مُتَسَفِّر "despatcher."

4 Arabic עושרין suggests a vernacular form: *'ushrīn*, unless the ו is transposed from before the ע where there should indeed be a ו. ת׳ stands for 3 (ثلاثة), not for 400 as in Hebrew.

5 I.e. of the Hijrah, which equals May 28th, A.D. 1067. The ת would then stand for 400, nor for 3, as above. סת׳ might stand for سَنَة, but there would then be no numeral.

6 The letters, though plain, yield no sense. 7 Arabic.

XLVII. LETTER

A letter from one named Nissīm, in Ḳaṭyah, Sinai, to a certain Rabbi Solomon Iskanderānī, in Cairo or Fusṭāṭ.

It is a rambling and repetitious account of conditions in the small and turbulent caravan station on the Cairo-Damascus highway. There is much about caravans. Robbers infest the way. The Muslims have demolished a synagogue (?) and a private house of the Jews. It is as hot as the nethermost Sheol, and the writer's pen is broken.

Recto: (*a*)

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

1 [To] the Prince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name and Reputation, my Lord, his Exalted Honor, the Rabbi [whose name is] written at the side [of this letter][1]!

2 After the solace[2] from afar: This [is] to inform the Gentleman [that] I have written at length to the Gentleman a letter, [sent] from al-'Āmīrī,

3 the mutasaffir[3] of the caravan which went [from here] in the company of the wise, the honored Rabbi Jacob, son of Rabbi Is[aac], on the twenty-third[4] of

4 Rajab, 460 [A.H.][5]. And this is to inform the Gentleman—for I do not know whether the letters reach the Gentleman—

5 that [people] say that they take them away from the runners. And now this [is] also to inform the Gentleman, now, today,

6 Wednesday, the 7th of Tammūz, of the arrival of a caravan of about 150 camel-loads and.....

7 .....[6]. And the merchants who are in it [are] from Damascus[7], and from Nablus[7], and from Gaza[7]. And there is in it

8 a Ḥalībī[8] merchant whose name is Sīdī 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥalībī[8]. And the Syrians[9] who are in it:

9 One whose name is Sīdī Maḥmūd Ibn Lu'lu', and [another,] 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Syrian[10], and [a few others] aside [from these], and five sheikhs[7] of the Jews;

10 and the rest [are] individually like what travels in the lists of a caravan. And the merchants told us

11 that the caravan[11] of Ḥalībīs[12] would soon arrive, with the help of God—His Name be blessed[13]!—And because they have not found for themselves any leader, so

---

[8] The context indicates Aleppo, but there appears to be no authority for such a form.

[9] Modern vernacular Arabic form.

[10] For שאמי, شَأْمِيّ.

[11] Here the Hebrew word שַׁיָּרָה instead of Arabic רבאעה.

[12] חאליביא for حَلَبِيَّة, plural of حَلَبِيّ. Cf. note 8.

[13] בעזרת השם יתברך.

12 לצאת מדמשק לא נסעו משם ובעה׳ בקרוב תצא מדמשק השירה לפי
דיבור

13 הסוחרים ומה שנתעכב שליחות הרץ תכף בעת הגעת הרבאעה הנז׳ הוא לפי

14 שיש פה סוכֻּראת מצד בניין הפסגה ולא ימצא איש בקטייא שכולם ברחו

15 להם מפחד הסוכֻּראת והנמצאים הם תפושים בסוכֻּרא[ת] בבניין באופן
שסוחרי

16 דמשק הם כמו לה׳ משאיך ומן האלב שוחר אחד שהוא סי׳ עלי ן׳ ע׳ אלעזיז

17 כמו חמשה משאיך והשאם צבון ולאוז ונבלוסי ואין להאריך כי אם לחלות
ולהתפלל

18 לאלית׳ ישלח לאדון ברכה עד בלי די אויר בנפשו הרחבה והחכמה
מליאה דעת

19 ויראה ובנפשׁ מוכנים ומזומנים הצעיר נסים

20 נכת במרוצה בקנה רצוצה

21 ביום ד׳ ז׳ לתמוז

Recto: (b)

1 וזות להודיע לאדון כי לא נמצא רץ בקטייא להודיע לאדון בשירת זאת
הרבאעה לכן לא

2 שלחכו הרץ לבשר ויודע לאדון כי הכאשף עיכב דמיהם כמו ד׳ אחמאל
מהלאוייא ומנזלאוייה

*ובין כך ובין כך היה ההלכה המהלאוייה והמנזלאוייה דרך ים ושש׳

3 וצריך למחר לשקול אותם ולידוע כמה יעלו דמיהם וילך אחד ממנו
למנזלה ולמחלה

4 לגבות דמיהם ואומר הכאשף שעכף רוצה לעכב המעות פה עד בוא כתב
מן האדון

---

14 See No. XXX, line 11, and note 18. About 75 kilometers from al-Ṣāliḥīyah on the caravan route, in Sinai. The spelling קטייא does not necessarily indicate Ḳaṭīyah, for the י is doubled in בניין, in the same line and next.

15 Cf. note 8.

16 Mentioned above in line 8. He seems to have made a great impression upon the writer, or else the writer is suffering from the heat. Cf. *recto* (*c*), line 7.

17 Cf. line 9. 18 شَأْم with the Hebrew article.

19 לוז.

20 לאל יתברך. Cf. the title above line 1: ברוך חיים יתברך.

12 that [they may] depart from Damascus, they have not journeyed from
there; but with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan[11]
will soon depart from Damascus according to the report
13 of the merchants. And what prevented sending the runner immediately
upon the arrival of the caravan mentioned: [It was] because
14 there are here labor requisitions on account of building the hill (?), and
not a man can be found in Ḳaṭyah[14]; for they have fled
15 for fear of the labor requisitions. And those who were found were seized
in the labor requisitions in building. In the way of merchants
16 of Damascus, there are about 35 sheikhs. And from Aleppo[15] there is
a merchant who is [named] Sīdī ʿAlī Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[16].
17 [There are] about five sheikhs[7] [of the Jews][17]! And [from] Syria[18] [they
bring] soap and almonds[19]. And [the] Nablus [party]—There is no
[use] in continuing [this letter], except to supplicate and to pray
18 to God—His Name be blessed[20]!—[that] He will send unto the Gentle-
man a blessing, until no breath is left in his soul[21], broad, and wise, and
full of knowledge,
19 and fear [of God], and in the soul of [those who are] prepared and sum-
moned. [Signed:] The insignificant Nissīm.
20 Written in haste, with a broken reed,
21 on Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz.

Recto: (b)

1 And this is to inform the Gentleman that no runner was found in Ḳaṭyah
to inform the Gentleman about the persons[11] of this caravan. There-
fore we have not
2 sent the runner to bring news. And be it known to the Gentleman that
the inspector[7] has held back[22] about the equivalent of[23] four loads[7] of
Maḥallah and Manzalah[24]. *But, however that may be, the Maḥallah
and Manzalah way is a sea-way. So farewell[25].
3 And it [will be] necessary tomorrow to weigh them and know what their
value is. And one of us will go to Manzalah and to Maḥallah to
4 collect their value. And the inspector is saying that he is holding[26]—
wishing to hold—the money here until[27] the arrival of a letter from the
Gentleman [directing him]

---

[21] I.e. "until he dies."

[22] For עַבֵּב, עַכֵּיב. [23] Above the line.

[24] There are several Maḥallahs, the most important of which lies at the center of the Delta. Manzalah is perhaps the village on the lake of that name.

[25] Obscure, like the preceding passage. This sentence is written on the margin, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign before this sentence, but none after מנזלאוויא.

[26] For ישעכב?

[27] Above the line is אצלחו, apparently אַצְלִיחוֹ "I will fix it up."

5 לפרוע לו האנות כי אמר שבא לו כתב מן איסמעין שאוש שלא רצה
האדון להעביר שום
6 חשבון ממה שעשה חכם בירב יצ׳ ואמר הכאשף שבשביל האדון יעכוב
המעות פה
7 עד בוא כתב האדון ולפי שלא שקל .. האחמאל עדיין עד למחר לכן לא
שלח .. הקלימה
8 בחרת מתסאפיר השירה אחמר שומאן ובעהי תכף עת נשקול האחמאל
נשלח הכל
* ובאמת זות הקלמה אשלח בעהי קלימת אלקטויי וכל הדברים בפרטות
9 בפרטי פרטות וצריך אני העבד ללכת בחברת המחלאוייה בעהי עכף׳ וכהר
יעקב כהן יצו׳
10 נתעכב ללכת בחברת השירה זות בעבור שהרסו הבית ואשתו לבדה
בין הגוים ועוד

Recto: (c)

1 כי שמענו שבעהי בקרוב נבוא השירה של החליבייא בעהי
2 שכבר נתקן הדרך וגם אועיד לאדון שהבית של פה קטייא
3 נהרסה כולה והעלילו עלילות שהיתה קרובה לגאמע וגם
4 שצריך יותר מנ׳ פרחים בדי לביות אותה לכן אמר
5 הכאשף שיתן לנו מקום אחר לדור בו ובזה
6 תתבטל חזקת הבית שלא ישאר חזקות ולא
7 דברים ואנחנו בתוך חמי חמי שאול התחתון
8 בזה החום של קטייא וששׁ׳

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[28] The modern colloquial Cairene form of Isma'īl. See Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., p. 27.

[29] These forms seem to have הו— for ו—.

[30] This substance, קלימה, is mentioned three times.

[31] For אלקטוייה?

[32] This sentence is written in the upper left-hand corner of the fragment, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign > after הכל, but none before this sentence.

[33] על כל פנים. [34] כבוד הרב.

[35] ישמרהו צורו.

[36] Quite plainly with prefix נ, as in Syriac.

to pay him the money. For he said that a letter had come to him from Isma'īn[28] Shāwish [saying] that the Gentleman did not wish to send over any
reckoning of what Ḥākhām, the son of Rabbi Isaac, had done. And the inspector said that on account of the Gentleman he would hold the money here
until the arrival of the letter of the Gentleman. And because they had not weighed(?)[29] the loads, [and would not do so] till tomorrow, therefore they would not send (?)[29] the.....[30]
in the company of the mutasaffir[3] of the caravan[11], Aḥmad Shūmān. But with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—as soon as we weigh the loads, we shall send all—*But truly I shall send this.....[30], with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the.....[30] of Ḳaṭyah[31], and everything with special care—[32]
with very special care. And I, the [humble] servant, must go in the company of the Maḥallah [caravan] with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—in any event[33]. And the honorable Rabbi[34] Jacob Kōhēn —May God keep him[35]!—
is prevented[36] from going in the company of this caravan, because they have torn down the house, and his wife [would be] alone among gentiles. And furthermore:

Recto: (c)

Now we have heard that with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan of the Aleppo[12] [company] will soon arrive[36], with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—
that already the road has been put in order[36]. And also I inform the Gentleman that the house[37] which is here [in] Ḳaṭyah
has been torn down, all of it; and [that] they have brought accusations that it was near to a mosque[38]; and also
that more than 50 perāhīm[39] [will be] necessary in order to [re]build it. Therefore
the inspector has said that he would give us another place in which to live. And in this [way all question as to]
the confiscation of the house[37] will be prevented; so that there will be no longer [any] confiscations, nor [any]
troubles[40]. And we are in the midst of the greatest heat of the lowest Sheol,
in this heat of Ḳaṭyah. So farewell.

---

[37] Here at least the word means "synagogue." Cf. line 10, just above. The expression is intentionally cryptic.

[38] Arabic جامع.

[39] I.e. "dīnārs"?

[40] Literally: "words," "affairs."

Recto: (*additions*)

וכדי שלא יבוא איזה דבר | בהליכתי למחלה לכן הוצרך | כהר׳ אברהם
פינטו יצ׳ | להתעכב פה ובעבור זה | לא הלכתי אני למצרים// וששׁ/

ועכשו הבית יהיה | של האדון וחזקתו | לאדון וששׁ/

התני .. עם הרץ | שיגיע למצרים | יום ששי אחר חצות

והחכם מלכיאל נה׳ | נסע לשלום

והנה הודעיו הדברים | בפרצות לאדון וששׁ/

Verso:

[ה]שׁר והטפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני החכם והנבון כמהר/
שלמה אסכנדרני ..... ופנין ליד ..ש יגל״ והל.
מקטייא למצרים

---

[41] הוצרך for הצורך.

[42] A very numerous and able Portuguese-Jewish family. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

Recto: (additions)

And, in order that nothing may happen | while I am going to Maḥallah, it is necessary[41] | that Rabbi Abraham Pinto[42]—May God keep him[35]!— | should be kept here. And on account of this | I have not gone to Cairo. So farewell.

And now the house shall belong | to the Gentleman, and the possession [shall be] | the Gentleman's. So farewell.

I (?) have stipulated[43] with the runner | that he shall reach Cairo | Friday, after midnight.

And the wise Malkī'ēl (?), pure soul[44], has gone to his [everlasting] peace. So farewell.

And behold I have made known[45] the matters | in detail to the Gentleman. So farewell.

Verso:

[To the Pr]ince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name and Reputation, my Lord, the Wise and Intelligent, his Exalted Honor, Rabbi Solomon Iskandarānī.....

From Ḳaṭyah to Cairo.

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[43] ההניתי. [44] נשמה טהורה. [45] הודעתיו.

XLVIII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The first marginal addition is in the same hand as that of the body of the letter, and merely continues the same. The second, in a different hand, protests against the unwarranted presumption of the letter. The third, in an extremely difficult cursive hand, and in Arabic, unintelligible save for a word or two, closes with the signature אברהם קאסטרו, "Abraham Castro." This is therefore the writer's own language and script, the body of the letter having been composed and penned by a scribe. In two other places there are brief combinations of letters, the purpose of which is not apparent.

Unfortunately there is no date.

1 השר הנעלה לשם ותהלה גבירנו כהרב שלמה נ׳

2 מאלהא רבא שלמא כולא אדון השלם ישפת שלם לכם ולנו אמן

3 להיות מחק השלמים לרדוף השלם נכפל בספרי הנביאים עה דבר השלם

4 ושבחנהו שבח לאין תכלית ואם חוייביו לרדוף השלם עם כל האדם

5 כש שיחוייב בקשתו ורדיפתו עם אותם אשר קבלו . . . בשום זמן

6 או באיזו אופן תועלת קטנה [או גדו]לה כאשר היה זה בפנינו עם האדו[ן]

7 נבון ונעלה מתקיפי ארעא דיש׳ כור׳ יצחק קאניגי יר׳ אשר ידע רק טוב

8 לבבו בכל עת וזמן ומה גם נמצא בצרות ובעת מצר והאדון לא כגמול

9 השיב בכל הדברים אם בהיותו נחוץ בלקיחת מעותיו אשר היו ביד האדון

10 כדי לשוב לדרכו ובהיותו מתמהמה נתגלגל לו נזק רב באותם

11 התאנים הרעות אשר ראה הת בהיותו פה ועוד שנית הרצה דברים

12 פה אל פה ועל יד אהובים להחזיק בו בל ימוט באיזו שירות או

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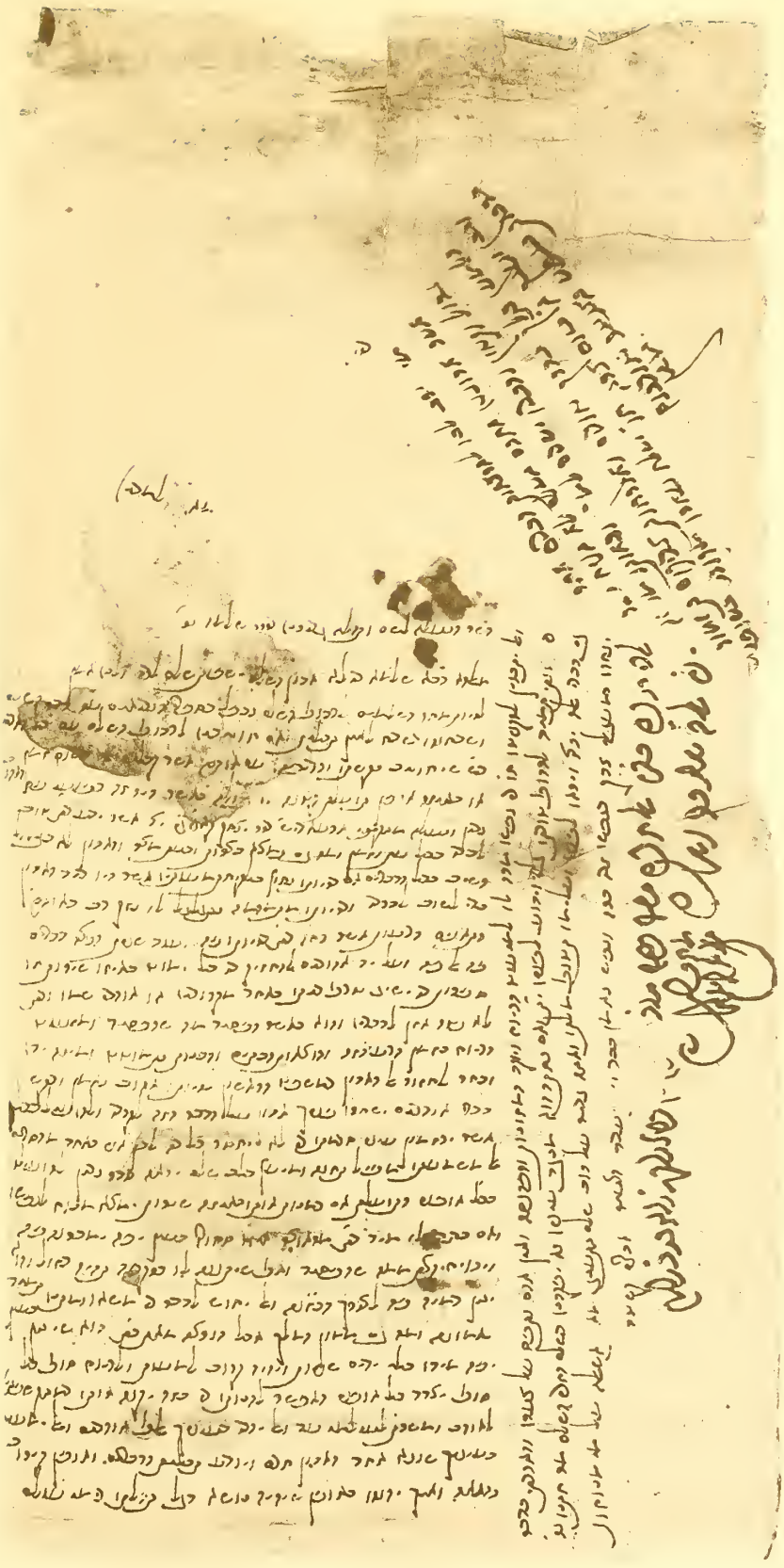
1 נרו יאיר.
2 Aramaic.
3 Cf. Isaiah xxvi, 12.
4 Cf. Isaiah lvii, 19.
5 עליהם השלום.
6 חובֵיו?
7 כָּל שָׁבָּן.



XLVIII. LETTER

A wheedling, reproachful, almost threatening letter from one, Abraham Castro, in Jerusalem (?), to an eminent and powerful man named Solomon, in Fusṭāṭ (?), asking him by employment or credit to aid a certain Isaac Ḳajījī, who seems to have become estranged from Solomon and then to have fallen upon evil days. Merchandise given Isaac from the common stock in Fusṭāṭ (?) is to be paid for later by gifts to the treasury in Jerusalem (?).

The chronicler Sambari (ed. Neubauer, vol. i, p. 145) mentions an Abraham Castro in connection with a Benjamin (not Isaac) Ḳajījī; and Solomon Ḥazzān (*Sēfer ha-Maʿalōth li-Shemōth*, page 12) as having in his possession a document of A.D. 1606, signed by Abraham Castro, Benjamin Ḳajījī and others.

1 [To] the Prince, Eminent in Name and Reputation, our Master, his
Exalted Honor, Solomon—May his light shine[1]!
2 From the Great God [cometh] all peace[2]. The Lord of Peace grant peace
to you and to us[3]! Amen.
3 Inasmuch as it is the custom of peaceful men to pursue peace—The word
"peace" occurs twice in succession in the books of the Prophets[4], upon
whom be peace[5]!—
4 and [inasmuch as] we praise [peaceful men] with boundless praise, and
if it is one's duty[6] to pursue peace with all mankind,
5 how much more[7] do the quest and pursuit of it become the duty of such
as have received.....at any time
6 or in any way a favor, great or small, such as we have observed to occur
in the case of the intelligent
7 and eminent gentleman, [one] of the influential men of Palestine[2], the
honorable Rabbi[8] Isaac Ḳajījī—May he be acceptable!—the goodness
of whose heart
8 at all times and seasons is known, and also how he found himself
[involved] in troubles and in a period of difficulty. Now my Lord[9]
has not requited
9 good in all matters: whether because [Rabbi Isaac] was hasty in de-
manding his money, which was in the hands of my Lord,
10 in order to make his return journey—Indeed, because he was delayed
[by you], he became involved in a great loss in connection with those
11 bad figs which my Lord (?) saw when he was here—[or for some other
reason]. But in the second place, [Rabbi Isaac] made an appeal [to
you, both]
12 in direct conversation and through the mediation of friends, to encourage
him not to waver. [He asked you] by any sort of employment or

---

[8] כבוד הרב?

[9] I.e. "you."

13 ספרות כי ישיב טרף ביתו כאחד מקרוביו או אוהבי שמו והת׳
14 לא נטה אזן לדבריו והוא כאשר הפסיד מה שהפסיד ומיעוט
15 הריוח בזמן הרע הזה והוצאות הבתים והבנות נתמוטט ומטה ידו
16 ובחר לחזור אל האדון כמשפט הראשון להיותו אהוב נאמן ובקש
17 דברי אוהבים ישחרו פניך אדון על הדבר הזה לקרבו ולהועיל בכל
18 אשר ירזמון עיני חכמתו כי לא יחסר כל בו לכן אני כאחד מהם..ם
19 אל משמעתו מפיל תחנה ומיעין בלב שלם יראה סדר נכון להועילו
20 בכל אופני התועלת אם כמיות אותו באיזה שירות ימצא מנוח לנפשו
21 ואם כתת לו מיד הת׳ מהאוצר איזו סחורה בעין יפה ימכרנה פה
22 וירויח קצת ממה שהפסיד ואף שיתננה לו בהקפה תהיה בזול והוא
23 יתן דמיה פה לצורך הכזנה ואל יחוש לדבר כי משאו ומתנו תמיד
24 ממונה ומה גם ממון המלך אבל הנרצה מאת הת׳ הוא שיתן בעין
25 יפה מידו בלי ידים שניות ויהיה קרוב למעות ולריוח סוף כל
26 סוף יצדד כל אופני האפשר להיותו כי כזה יקנה אותו במתן שפתיו
27 לאוהב ומשרת לעולמי עד ואל ירבו בעיניך אלף אוהבים ואל ימעט
28 בעיניך שונא אחד האדון חכם ויודע תכלית הדברים ואופן קירוב
29 ההנאה ואיך יהנהו באופן שיהיה נושא דגל תהלתו בימי עולם

Margin: (a)

1 ואל יתכוין להקניטו חו כי נפשו מרה לו למיעוט הריוח ויוקר המזונות
והפרנסה ואין אדם נתפס על צערו והארכתי בדבר

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[10] Cf. Leviticus xxv, 35.

[11] The second and third persons are used interchangeably.

[12] Arabic.

literary work to restore the support of his house, as one of [my Lord's] relatives and admirers. But my Lord (?)
did not give ear to his words. Then he, [Rabbi Isaac,] when he had lost what he lost—the small
profits of those evil times, and the expenses of the houses and the daughters [being what they were]—collapsed, and his hand wavered[10],
and he chose to return to my Lord as originally planned, to be [his] beloved and trusted [friend]. And he sought to employ
the conversations of friends, [that] they might address themselves to you[11], Sir, concerning this matter, in order that he might approach [you] and that [you] might aid him in every thing
which the eyes of [my Lord's][11] wisdom might indicate ; for there is no lack [of ability] at all in him. Therefore I, as one of those.....
to [my Lord's] subjects, make supplication and give counsel with a perfect heart. May [my Lord] see some proper arrangement for helping him
by every sort of usefulness, whether.....him in some sort of employment by which he may find rest for his soul,
or else giving him, by the hand of my Lord (?), from the common stock, some sort of merchandise, in a kindly spirit, which he may sell here
and [thereby] gain a little of what he has lost. And even though [my Lord] gives it to him on credit, the price must be low. And he
will deliver its equivalent here toward the needs of the treasury[12]. And let [my Lord] not fear anything; for his business at all times brings in
money, and royal money too[13]. But the thing that is desired of my Lord (?) is that he give in a kindly
spirit by his own hand, without [the mediation of] other hands, and [thus] be close to [both] capital and profits. In
short, let [my Lord] be everything possible [to him], for thus he will gain him, by gentle speech,
as a friend and servant for ever and ever. And let not a thousand friends be many in your eyes ; nor let one
enemy be a small thing in your eyes. My Lord is wise, and knows the purpose of things, and the manner of advantageous
approach, and how he may benefit [this man] in such a way that he will become a bearer of the flag of his praise for all eternity.

Margin: (*a*)

And let [my Lord] not seek to affront him—God forbid!—for his soul is bitter by reason of the smallness of [his] profit and the costliness of food and maintenance ; and no man is to be blamed for his suffering. Now I have dilated upon this matter

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[13] From תמיד on, very uncertain.

2 כי כוֹנתי תמיד לרדוף טובתו גלוי וידוע לפניו יתּ ואם נסתר הוא מנגד
עיניו נא יפקדנו בשלם החכם השלם מר חתנו נ׳
3 גם דברי אלה ירצו ויראו לפניו ועלימו חטוף מלתי ואתה גביר על רוב
שלם תתענג מאתּ [י׳] אשאלה על מי מנוחות
4 ינחהו במעגלת צדק בנפשו יפה ברה ונפש נאמן בבריתּ[ו ה]עבד הצעיר
אברהם קסטר[ו]

Margin : (b)

1 מי [י]רב לבו להוצאות דברים אחר
2 אשר אדוננו החכם מעלם לא הניח [דבר]
3 גדול וקטון ודבריו ישרים למי [ש]באותו מ . . הּ
4 ולמען תּלך בדרך טובים ואורחות צדיקים ת[ש]מור
5 ובכן יענך אֹ ביום צרה חו׳ ישלח עזרו מקודש בשופ . . .
6 ברכות בנפש הצעיר טובּ . . .
7 אמן

---

[14] Or "son-in-law." [15] Job xxix, 22. [16] Psalm xxiii, 2.
[17] Psalm xxiii, 3.
[18] The adjectives are uncertain, and ought in any case to have the article.

2 because my purpose to further his welfare at all times is evident and well known to [God]—Blessed be He! But if [my purpose seems to be] hidden from his eyes, then, I pray, let his father-in-law[14]—May his light shine[1]!—the wise and peaceful, visit [Rabbi Isaac] in peace.

3 And furthermore, may these my words be acceptable, and may they receive his attention: "And my speech distilled upon them[15]." But [as for] you, Master: May you enjoy an abundance of peace. From [the Lord] I ask it "beside the still waters[16]."

4 May He guide him "in the paths of righteousness[17]" because of his beautiful, pure soul[18], the soul of one faithful in his covenant[19]. [Signed:] The insignificant slave, Abraham Castro.

Margin: (b)

1 Who dares[20] to utter words [of reproach], seeing

2 that our wise Master from time out of mind has never neglected any matter,

3 great or small. And his words are just to those whom.....

4 "That thou mayest walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous[21]."

5 And thus may "the Lord answer thee in the day of trouble[22]".....Send His help from the Sanctuary[23].

6 Blessings by(?) the soul of the insignificant.....

7 Amen!

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[19] Psalm lxxviii, 37. [20] For יִרְבֶּה? [21] Proverbs ii, 20.
[22] Psalm xx, 2. [23] Psalm xx, 3.

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

Paper 8 × $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, very regular and beautiful, but badly faded. The text could be read, however, in an especially prepared photograph, the work of Mr George R. Swain, Technical Expert in Photography at the University. It was doubtless written by a professional scribe.

Recto :

בה

1 יושב בשבת תחכמוני הוא עוזנו העצם החכם השלם ריש מתיבתא
וריש

2 מתה כמהר אברהם סכנדרני נ״י

3 עם פקודת משמרת החיים והשלום יפקד ויזכר בבני חיי ומזוני עם כל

4 בני חבורתו הקדושה ל..רותים ... להודיעו ממצבי הרע המר והנמהר

5 וממזלי הקשה שאחר שירדתי בשברי שברון מכל עבר ופנה וחשבתי

6 אולי עברו ימי הרעה ואמר השי׳ די לצרותי ושדכתי בני עם בת טובים

7 ונהפך מחולי לאבלי כי באו לי גנבים בלילה ושדדו אותי וברוך ה׳
שגזר

8 עלי גם בזאת לטעום טעם עוני אני ובני ערומים רעבים גם צמאים

9 ויען היותי משוש לכל הארץ עתה אני הרפה לכל שכני ורואי ועל הכל

10 יהי שם ק מבורך שהיצלני ולבני מחרבם כי כל אשר לאיש יתן בעד

11 נפשו ומענין זקנתך ת״ל כגדר הבריאות וגם בה פגעה מכתי כי שללו

12 מלבושיה עתה אין חדש כי אם לחלות פניו שיפקח עלי עין השגחתו

13 אולי יציל לי דבר מה מאחיו אבא כי שעתא דחוקה לי מאד והייתי

14 שחוק לכל עמי ומענין התלמיד ישראל מנשק ידי האדון והוא מעודו

---

[1] II Samuel xxiii, 8.

[2] Aramaic forms.

[3] השם יתברך.

[4] For הצילני.

[5] I.e. "you."

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

A letter addressed to a certain Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, "The Alexandrian," by his aunt, an unnamed lady who has fallen upon evil days and desires his assistance.

Many Old Testament phrases are interwoven, in the manner of one who reads the Scriptures much, and has no style of his own ; but, as this is unconscious, the references have not always been given in our notes.

Recto:

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

1 [To him] who sits in the seat of Taḥkemōnī[1], him, our Refuge, Mighty, Wise, Perfect, Head of the Academy, and Head of
2 the city (?) the Exalted Honor of the Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, Light of Israel.
3 With the granting of preservation of life and peace let him be cared for, and let him be remembered among the sons of life[2] and sustenance[2], together with all
4 the people of his holy company.....to inform him of the doings of that evil, bitter and hasty man,
5 and of my cruel fate which, after I had descended into the lowest depths of destruction [which assailed me] from every side and quarter, and had imagined [that]
6 perhaps the days of evil had passed, and had said : "The Name [of God] be praised[3]! Enough of my sufferings! I have betrothed my son to a maiden of beauty!"—
7 my dancing was changed to (my) lamentation. For thieves entered my [house] by night and robbed me. But blessed [be] the Name [of God], who decreed
8 for me also this, to taste the flavor of my sin. I and my son are naked, hungry—and thirsty.
9 And instead of (?) being a delight unto all the earth, now I [am] an [object of] shame to all my neighbors and those who see me. But in spite of it all,
10 may the Holy Name [of God] be blessed, who delivered me[4] and my son from their sword ; for all that a man hath will he give for
11 his life. And as regards your grandmother.....according to the definition of healthy women ; but her also did my misfortune strike. For they carried off
12 her clothing. At present there is nothing new [to ask], except to pray his[5] presence that he will open upon me the eye of his[5] oversight.
13 Perhaps he[5] will save for me something from his[5] brethren, Sir, for it is to me an hour[2] of great need. And I have become
14 dust unto all my people. And as regards the pupil, Israel, he kisses the hands of the Gentleman[5], and he is still (?)

15 לומר עם החכם כ"הר יצחק צבאח יען כי אצלו ל[ו]מדים תלמידי

16 הישיבה ולא עם זולתו ולא ראיתי טובה משום אדם כי אם ממנו

17 עם היות שעברו דברי ריבות ביני לבינו על אודות בנות בעלי

18 . . . . . השדוכין אחר שהפסדתי יותר משלושים גרו׳

19 בשדוכין בזמן שלחתי וקצרה ידי מלהשלים הקם מהר הבתולה

20 וגם זו לטובה ושלום מאת המרה ונאנחה שכולה וגלמודה המצוק[ה]

21 לחתום בדמעות שליש סת דודתך /

Margin:

. . . . . טו לטבת

Verso:

מ . . . תובבי

יוצל ליד אוֹצר בלוט תגא דאוריתא ודרבין הח׳ הש׳ כמהר אברהם סכנדרני

. . . . . .

---

6 כבוד הרב.

7 גרו׳ contains the name of some coin. One thinks of قروش, plural of قِرْش, the modern "piastre." But 30 piastres is too small a sum (about $1.50) to complain of losing. Also, the word is supposed to have been borrowed from Germany or Austria (*groschen*) in comparatively recent times.

8 הָקֵם.

15 studying with the learned Rabbi Isaac[6] Ṣabāḥ, because with him there
are studying pupils of
16 the Academy, and not with any other. And I have not experienced a
kindness from any one but him;
17 although, to be sure, words of strife have passed between him and me
concerning the daughters of my husband
18 .....the betrothal after I had lost more than thirty.....[7]
19 in the betrothal at the time when I sent [you word of it?]. And I am
unable to finish putting up[8] the dowry of the maiden.
20 But this also [must be] for the best. Greetings from the bitter and
sighing, bereft and lonely woman, who is forced
21 to sign [this letter] with tears in large measure: the Lady[9], your Aunt.

Margin:

.....15th of Ṭēbhēth.

Verso:

.....

May it reach the hand of the Most Eminent[10] Oak[11], Crown of the Law and the Rabbis[12], the Pious, the.....Exalted Honor of the Rabbi[9] Abraham Skandarānī[13].

---

[9] Vernacular Arabic, *sitt*, for classical سَيِّدَة.

[10] These words in Arabic.

[11] Hebrew. [12] These words in Aramaic.

[13] החסיד ... כבוד מעלת הרב.

L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

Paper $45\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The three letters which the fragment contains are all in the same hand, and were doubtless written down by the same professional scribe. The first fills one hundred lines, of which lines 1–34 and 41–53 are rimed, the rimes being indicated by short diagonal strokes. The second letter occupies twenty-five lines, and the third letter forty-four lines.

Many biblical phrases are introduced, paraphrased, or hinted at. Not all have been indicated in the notes, for the reference is often remote.

The paper bears a watermark of the familiar hand-and-star variety, employed by many manufacturers, in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. If the Moses mentioned is indeed Moses di Trani, our fragment may be accurately dated toward the close of his incumbency at Safed, 1525–1535 (note 72), and may even have had something to do with his apparent removal. He did not die till 1585, fifty years later.

1 וה . . . .

2 שלשה ימים ״ וג . . . . . .

3 על בניו והקּבה מזמין להם . . . ק . . . . . עד שיג . . . . . .

4 עם היותי סובל צערי ״ ולא אחוס על עצמי כאכזרי ״ ועם כ . . . . . .

5 אדם לי מצירים ״ ועלי מכתירים ״ והגיע הזיקם גם לחבירים ״ שעמי

6 קורים ״ לבלתי היותם נסטרים ״ מארנוניות ושאר דברים ״ כשאר

7 הלומדים תורה אצל אחרים ״ ואפילו להקל מעליהם ויהלו מעט

8 ממשׂא מלך שרים ״ ועמדתי בקהל ואמרתי למה לא תתנהגו עם

9 חבירי כהלכה בדרך שאתם מתנהגים עם האחרים ״ והשיבו

10 שאדונינו הנגיד פטר תלמידי ר׳ משה ״ ואם מתלמידיו ותלמידך

11 לא נקבל אין לנו ממי נקבל ״ ומעמיסים עליהם עומס אחירים ״

12 אם מאת אדוני היה הדבר הזה ״ לחזק השמן ולרדוף הרזה ״ עלינו

13 לשביח וגזירתך נקבל ״ וחלילה וחס שכסא כבודך תּנבל ״ וצאן

14 מרעיתך תחבל ״ ואספר קצת ממנהג כבוד הדיין הנזכר עמי .

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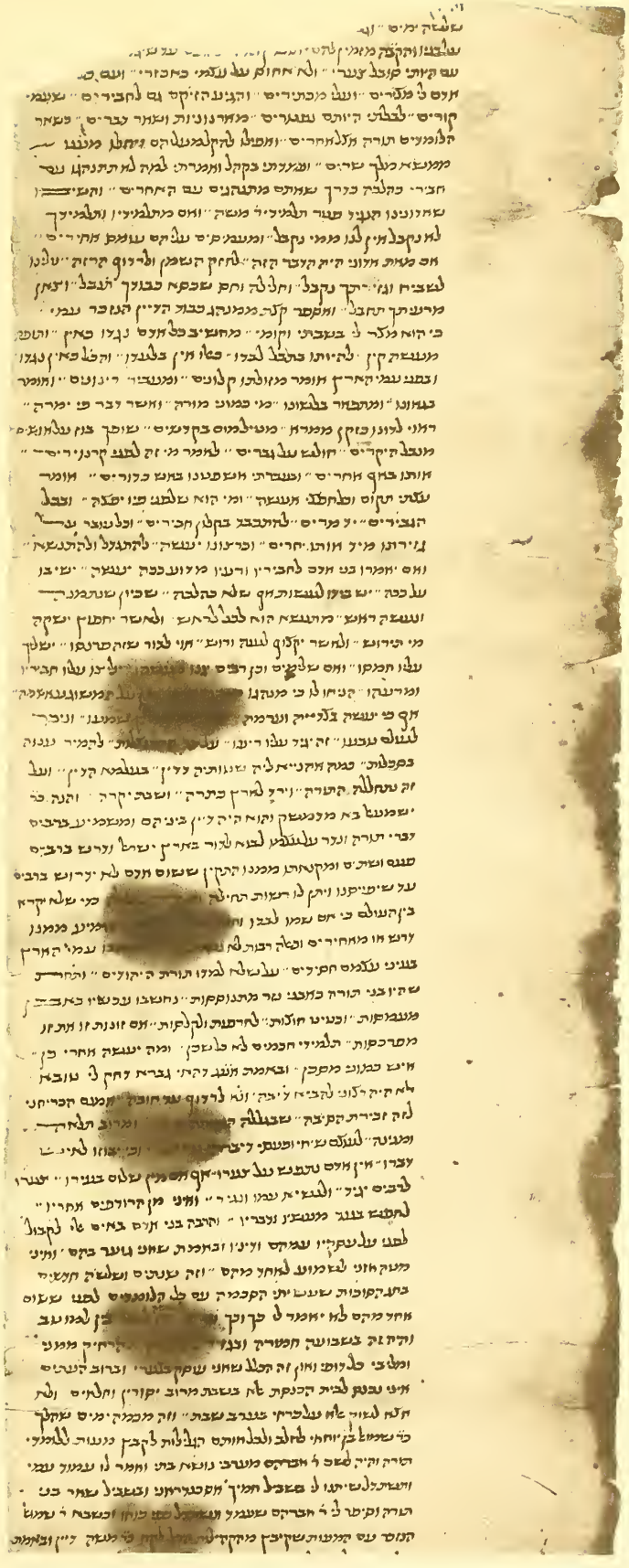
[1] הקדוש ברוך שמו.

[2] For נסתרים.

[3] For ארנונות?

[4] Hosea viii, 10.



L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

These three letters complain of the conduct of a certain Rabbi Moses, the dayyān of Safed in Galilee. If we are to believe the writers, he was a rather unusually vainglorious, selfish and unscrupulous person, guilty of many acts of tyranny, misappropriation and corruption, and responsible for the perennial Safed Meat Scandal.

It is difficult to recognise in this Moses, the Moses di Trani who was Rabbi of Safed from 1525 to 1535. But our Moses was the immediate successor of a certain Joseph Sarakossī (or Saragossī), as we learn from line 157; and Moses di Trani was a successor, possibly an immediate successor, of the Joseph Saragossī who organised the community of Safed in 1492; and the identification is thus not unlikely.

The addressee of the letter is an unnamed Egyptian nāgīd, at Fusṭāṭ(?). The beginning of the fragment, which might have revealed his identity, is unfortunately missing. The writers are all people at Safed, whose names are duly signed. Many interesting names appear.

1 .....
2 three days, and.....
3 over his sons. And the Holy One—Blessed be the Name[1]!—was inviting them.....
4 while I bore my affliction, and did not spare myself, cruel that I was, and while.....
5 men were hemming me in and surrounding me, the injury [which] they [were doing] extended even to the scholars who with me
6 [were] reading, without their being protected[2] from taxes[3] and other things, as [are] the rest of
7 those who study the Law, with other [teachers], if only [to the extent of] lightening their [obligations] and relieving them a little
8 from "the burden of the King of Princes[4]." And I stood in the congregation and said: "Why do you not behave toward
9 my friends properly, as you behave towards the others?" and they replied:
10 "Our Master, the Nāgīd, has exempted the pupils of Rabbi Moses; and if we do not receive [taxes] from
11 his pupils nor [from] your pupils[5], we have no [people] from whom we may receive [taxes]. We are [thus merely] placing upon [your friends] the burden of others.
12 If this matter proceeds from our Master, to strengthen the fat and drive out the lean, it is our duty
13 to applaud; and we shall accept your decision. God forbid that the throne of your Honor should be outraged, and the sheep
14 of your pasture injured." And I shall recount something of the manner of his Honor, the dayyān, [above] mentioned, [in dealing] with me.

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[5] For תלמידיך "pupils"?

15 כי הוא מצר לי בשבתי וקומי ״ מחשיב כל אדם נגדו כאין ״ ותופס
16 מעשה קין ״ להיותו בתבל לבדו ״ כאלו אין בלעדו ״ והכל כאין נגדו ״
17 ובפני עמי הארץ אומר מזולתו קלונים ״ ומעביר רינונים ״ ואומר
18 בגאונו ״ ומתפאר בלשונו ״ מי כמוני מורה ׳ ואשר דבר פי ימרה ״
19 ראוי לדונו כזקן ממרא ״ מטיל מים בקדשים ״ שופך בוז על אנשים ״
20 מנבל היקרים ״ חולש על גברים ״ לאמר מי זה לפני קרנו ירים ״
21 אותו באף אחרים ״ ובעברתי אשפענו באש כדורים ״ אומר
22 עצתי תקום וכל חפצי אעשה ״ ומי הוא שלפני פיו יפצה ״ ובכל
23 הגבירים ״ יד מרים ״ להתכבד בקלון חבירים ״ וכל עובר על
24 גזירתו מיד אותו יחרים ״ וכרצונו יעשה ״ להתגדל ולהתנשא ״
25 ואם יאמרו בני אדם לחביריו ודעיו מדוע ככה יעשה ״ ישיבו
26 על ככה ״ יש בידו לעשות אף שלא כהלכה ״ שכיון שנתמנה
27 ונעשה ראש ״ מתנשא הוא לכל לראש ״ ולאשר יחפוץ ישקה
28 מי תירוש ״ ולאשר יקצוף לענה ורוש ״ אוי לדור שזה פרנסו ״ ישליך
29 עליו חמסו ״ ואם שלימים וכן רבים יגנו מעשהו ״ יליצו עליו חביריו
30 ומרעהו ״ הניחו לו כי מנהגו מנהג יהוא ״ ואין על המשוגע אשמה ״
31 אף כי יעשה בצדייה וערמה ״ הנה יצא בארץ שמעו ״ וניכר
32 לעולם טבעו ״ זה יגיד עליו ריעו ״ על צק ההתנצלות ״ להמיר ענוה
33 בסכלות ״ כמה אהנייא ליה שטותיה דדין ״ בעלמא הדין ״ ועל
34 זה נתהללה התורה ״ וירד לארץ כתרה ״ ושבת יקרה ״ והנה כֹּר
35 ישמעאל בא מדמשק והוא היה דיין ביניהם ומשמיע ברבים

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[6] בלעדיו.
[7] A scholar who refuses to conform to the majority opinion.
[8] Isaiah xlvi, 10. [9] For ויודעיו.

15 He has oppressed me in my downsitting and my uprising, reckoning as
nothing every man opposed to him, having recourse to
16 the deed of Cain in order to be the only one in the world, as if there
were no one beside him[6], and everything [were] as nothing before him.
17 And before the common people he says shameful things about [everyone]
but himself, uttering slanders and speaking
18 in his pride, and boasting with his tongue: "Who [is there that] teaches
like me?" and "He who rebels against the word of my mouth
19 shall be treated as a disobedient elder[7]." He voids water upon holy
things, pours contempt upon men,
20 outrages the honorable, brings weakness upon strong men, saying:
"Whosoever shall exalt his horn before me,
21 him in anger shall I outlaw, and in my wrath overwhelm with the fire of
battle." He says:
22 "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure[8]," and "Who is
he that will dare open his mouth in my presence?" And against all
23 the leading men he raises his hand, that he may gain honor for himself
by the shame of [his] associates. And everyone who transgresses
24 his decisions he forthwith outlaws; and he does as he pleases, that he
may magnify and exalt himself.
25 And if people say to his companions and those that know him[9]: "Why
does he do this?" they reply
26 thus: "He has the power to do even what is contrary to legal custom;
for as soon as he was appointed
27 and made Head [of the Academy], he exalted himself to [the dignity of
being] Head of All. And to him whom he desired, he gave to drink
28 the waters of new wine; but to him against whom he was angry, [he
gave] wormwood and poison. Woe unto the generation which has
this for a leader! [A man] who casts
29 his injustice in its face. And although sound men—and there are many
such—defend his doings, [nevertheless] his companions and his flock
make sport
30 of him. They let him [do] according to his custom, the custom of Jehu.
There is no blame for the madman,
31 even though he works with design and cunning. Truly, his report has
gone forth in the land, and his character
32 is recognised[10] for all time. This is what his friend says of him, about
the difficulty of his justifying himself: for [him] to turn humility
33 into folly. How has the folly of this [man] profited him in this world[11]?
And because of
34 this the Law has been desecrated, and its crown brought down to earth,
and its honor has ceased. Behold, the honorable Rabbi
35 Ishmael came from Damascus. He had been dayyān among them [there].
And he had published abroad

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[10] For וינכר.

[11] This sentence is in Aramaic.

36 דברי תורה ופרר על עצמו לבוא לדור בארץ ישראל ודרש ברבים
37 פעם ושתים ומקנאתו ממנו התקין ששום אדם לא ידרוש ברבים
38 עד שיפייסנו ויתן לו רשות תחילה וזו היתה בעלילה כדי שלא יקרא
39 בין העולם כי אם שמו לבדו וחזר והחרים על כל השומיע ממנו
40 דרש או מאחירים וכאלה רבות לא נשמעו " עד ששבו עמי הארץ
41 בעיני עצמם חסידים " על שלא למדו תורת היהודים " ותחת
42 שהיו בני תורה כאבני נזר מתנוססים " נחשבו עכשיו כאבן
43 מעמסות " וכטיט חוצות " לחרפות ולקלסות " אם זונות זו את זו
44 מפרכסות " תלמידי חכמים לא כל שכן " ומה יעשה אחרי כן "
45 איש כמוני מסכן " ובאמת אעג דהאי גברא דחק לי טובה "
46 לא היה רצוני להביא דיבה " ולא לרדוף עד חובה " אמנם הכריחני
47 לזה זכירת הסיבה " שבגללה הושתה איבה " ומרוב תלאה
48 ומגינה " לעוצם שיחי וכעסי דיברתי עד הנה " וכי יבוזו לאיש
49 דברו " אין אדם נתפש על צערו " אף אם אין שלום בעירו " צערו
50 לרבים יגיד " ולנשיא עמו ונגיד " ואיני מן הרודפים אחריו "
51 לחפש בעד מעשיו ודבריו " והרבה בני אדם באים אלי לקבול
52 לפני על עסקיו עמהם ודיניו ובאמת שאני גוער בהם " ואיני
53 מטה אזני לשמוע לאחד מהם " וזה שנתים ושלשה חדשים
54 בחג הסוכות שעשיתי הסכמה עם כל הלומדים לפני ששום
55 אחד מהם לא יאמר לי כך וכך עשה בין לטוב כמשה בין למוטב
56 והיה זה בשבועה חמורה ובגזירת התורה להרחיק ממני
57 ומליבי כל דופי ואון זה הכלל שאני עוסק בצערי וברוב העתים
58 איני נכנס לבית הכנסת אלא בשבת מרוב יסורין וחלאים ולא

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[12] Zechariah ix, 16.
[13] Zechariah xii, 3. But here correct to אבנים.
[14] Micah vii, 10.
[15] Talmud, *Shabbāth*, 34a.
[16] אַף עַל גַּב דְּ.
[17] This clause is in Aramaic.
[18] Cf. Genesis iii, 15.
[19] Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, 16b, where however we have "in the hour of his suffering": שאין אדם נתפס בשעת צערו.

36 [certain] words of the Law, and taken upon himself a vow to go and live
in Palestine. And he preached publicly
37 once or twice. And, because [Rabbi Moses] was jealous of him, he com-
manded that no man should preach publicly
38 until he had made peace with him, and he had given him permission
beforehand. And this was done in order that his name
39 only should be noised abroad. And he next outlawed every one who
listened to instruction from him
40 or from others; and many things like these, [such as] were never heard
of [before]; until the common people came to be
41 saints in their own eyes, without learning the Law of the Jews; and,
instead of
42 the Sons of the Law being as stones of a crown lifted on high[12], now they
are reckoned as burdensome
43 stones[13], and as mire of the streets[14], [fit only] for shame and derision.
If harlots paint each other's
44 faces, should not the pupils of wise men [show] even more [mutual help-
fulness[15]]? And after [all] this what is a poor man
45 like me to do? And truly, even though[16] this man has deprived me of
good[17](?),
46 I have not wished [of myself] to bring gossip, nor to pursue [him] to
[the point of] accusation. Verily I was compelled
47 to [do] this by the memory of the cause by which enmity was established[18].
Because of much vexation
48 and sorrow I have spoken thus far in my strongest language and in my
anger. But if people despise a man [for]
49 his speech, [let them remember that] no man is called to account for his
suffering[19]. Even if there be no peace in his city, his suffering
50 to the multitude he makes known: even unto the prince and leader of
his people. I am not a persecutor of him,
51 to search out his doings and sayings. Many people come to me to
complain
52 to me about his dealings with them and his judgments. But truly I
rebuke them and I do not
53 lend my ear to hearing one of them. Only two or three months [ago]
54 at the Feast of Tabernacles, I made an agreement with all those who
were studying under me, that not
55 one of them should say: "The honorable Rabbi Moses[20] has done thus
and so," however good [his intentions].
56 And this occurred in an important week and [at a time] when the Law
commands [me] to put away from myself
57 and from my heart every blemish and sin. This [was] the rule which I
practised in my suffering. And for the most part
58 I did not go to the synagogue except upon the Sabbath Day, by reason
of [my] ailments and disorders; nor

[20] Evidently the name of the accused. It is written between lines. Cf. line 64.

59 אצא לשוק אלא על כרחי בערב שבת " וזה מכמה ימים שהלך
60 כ׳ שמואל בן יוחאי לחלב ולכל אותם הגלילות לקבץ מעות ללומדי
61 תורה והיה לשם ר׳ אברהם מערבי נושא בתי ואמר לו עמוד עמי
62 ותשתדל שיתנו לי בשביל חמיך אסכנדראני ובשביל שאר בני
63 תורה וסיפר לי ר׳ אברהם שעמד ונשתדל כפי כוחו וכשבא ר׳ שמואל
64 הנזכר עם המעות שקיבץ מהקהילות הכל לקח כ׳ משה דיין ובאמת
65 שלא הגיע לי אפילו פרוטה אחת ובפנים הזאת הלך כ׳ שמואל הנזכ׳
66 לארץ תוגרמה וקיבץ מה שקיבץ וכשהגיע לחלב שלח לפקוד
67 בשלומינו ומה שבא בידו הכל לכ׳ משה ולעלם לא רדפתי אחר אלו
68 אלו הדברים ולא קיבלתי משלאחרים מלבד מה ששלחו אלי קרובי
69 כ׳ יוסף אסכנדרני ואחיו יצ״ו כי הם גמלוני טובות רבות הטיבה יי׳
70 לטובים " ולעולם לא נכנס לידי משלאחירים ופעם אחת אשה אחת
71 היתה חולה והיה הרופא כ׳ יוסף המצרי זל שנקרא עפיף בן עזרא
72 יוצא ובא אצלה כמנהג הרופאים וכשהרגישה בעצמה שהיא
73 נפטרת לבית עולמה שלחה לקרות לי ביד הרופא הנזכר ולא הלכתי אצלה
74 לפי שידעתי שרוצה ליתן בידי מעות מעזבונה כי לא היה לה יורש
75 ואני לא רציתי ללכת אצלה ובא כ׳ יוסף הרופא הנזכר אלי ואמר לי דע
76 שהיא נוטה למות וכל מה שיש בידה לוקחים הגוים ואתה נשבעת
77 שלא יכנס לידך שום דבר מזה תן לנו עצה מה נעשה והביא מה
78 ששלחה האשה אלי בידו כי אמרה לו איני חפיצה שיהיה אלו המעות
79 שנשארים אחרי מעזבוני כי אם ביד יוסף אסכנדראני שיעשה

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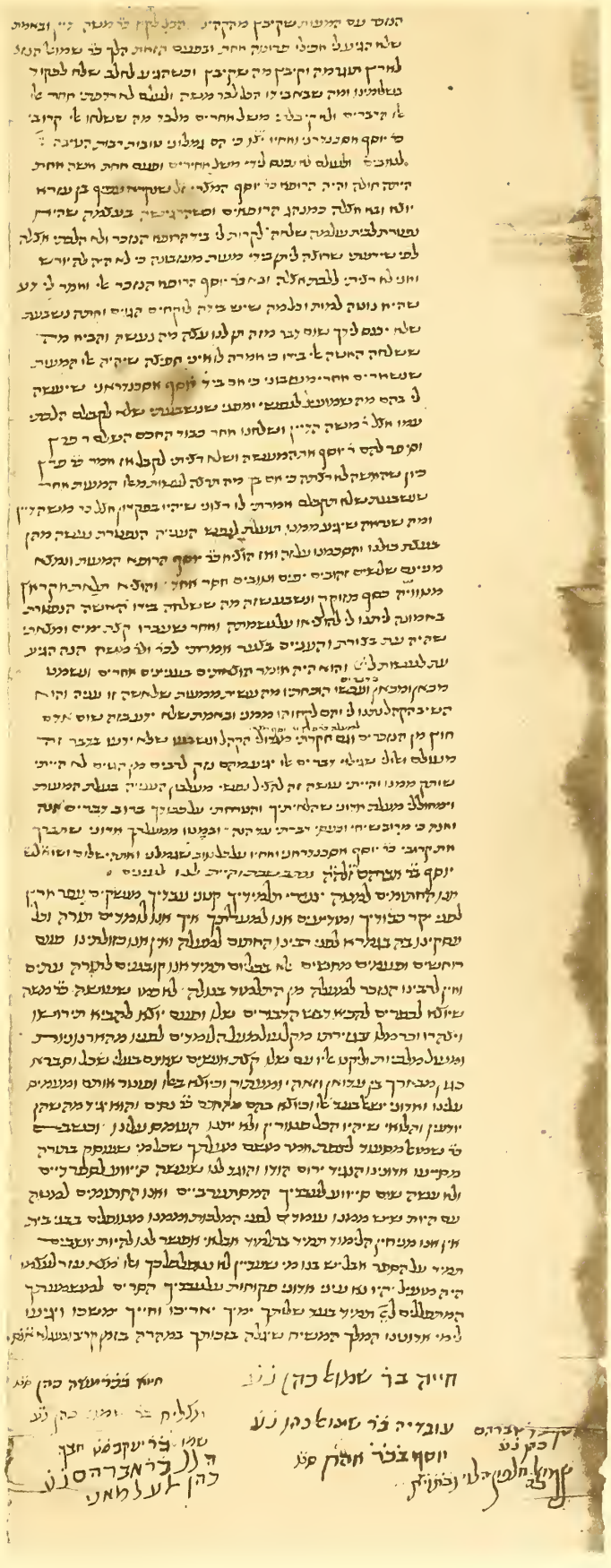
[21] Hebrew for the ordinary Arabic, *Maghribī*.
[22] For סִפֵּר. A frequent form. See other examples below.
[23] For ישתדל. [24] Or Armenia?



59 did I go forth to the market-place, except involuntarily, on Sabbath Eve. Only a few days ago the honorable Rabbi Samuel
60 Ben Yōḥai went to Aleppo and to all those surrounding [places], to collect money for the students of
61 the Law. And it happened in the case of Rabbi Abraham Ma'rabī[21], my daughter's betrothed, [that Rabbi Samuel] said to him: "Stand with me
62 and persuade them to give to me on account of your father-in-law, Iskandarānī, and on account of the other Sons of
63 the Law." And Rabbi Abraham told me[22] that he stood and solicited[23] as well as he was able; and that, when the [above-]mentioned Rabbi
64 Samuel returned with the money which he had collected[22] from the congregations, the honorable Rabbi Moses, the dayyān, took the whole [of it]. And truly
65 not even a single penny reached me. With these sentiments the honorable Rabbi Samuel, [above] mentioned, went
66 to the land of Turkey[24], and collected what he could[22]. And when he had reached Aleppo, he sent to give
67 us greetings; but all that had come into his hands he turned over to the honorable Rabbi Moses. I have never run after
68 these things, nor have I received what belonged to others: save only what my kinsmen sent me,
69 the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī and his brothers—May God preserve him!—for they have shown me many kindnesses. May God reward
70 the good! Never has there come into my hands what belonged to others. On one occasion a woman
71 was ill, and the physician was the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the Egyptian, of blessed memory, who was called [in Arabic] 'Afīf Ibn Ezra.
72 He went in and out of her house, in the manner of physicians; and when she felt within herself that she
73 was departing to her eternal home, she sent to have me summoned by the [above-]mentioned physician. But I did not go to her [house]
74 because I knew that she wished to place in my hands the money of her estate—for she had no heir—
75 and I did not wish to go to her [house]. And the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the physician, [above] mentioned, came to me, and said to me: "Know
76 that she is inclining toward death, and that the gentiles will take all that she has in her possession; and [yet] you have sworn
77 that nothing of this shall be gathered into your hand. Give us [therefore] advice [as to] what we are to do." And he brought what
78 the woman had sent to me by his hand; for she had said to him: "I do not wish this money,
79 which shall be left behind me in the way of an estate, to be in the hands of any but Joseph Iskandarānī, to do

80 לי בהם מה שמועיל לנפשי ומפני שנשבעתי שלא לקבלם הלכתי

81 עמו אצל ר׳ משה הדיין ושלחנו אחר כבוד החכם השלם ר׳ פרין

82 וסיפר להם ר׳ יוסף את המעשה ושלא רציתי לקבל אז אמר כ׳ פרין

83 כיון שהאשה לא רצתה כי אם בך מה תרצה לעשות מאלו המעות אחר

84 שנשבעת שלא תקבלם אמרתי לו רצוני שיהיו בפקדון אצל כ׳ מש הדיין

85 ומה שנראה שיגיע ממנו תועלת לנפש העניה הנפטרת נעשה מהן

86 בעצת כולנו והסכמנו על זה ואז הוציא כ׳ יוסף הרופא המעות ונמצא

87 מנינם שלשים זהובים יפים וטובים חסר אחד ״ והוציא תְּלַאת אַקְרַאין

88 מטוויה כסף מזוקק ונשבע שזה מה ששלחה בידו האשה הנפטרת

89 באמונה ליתנו לי להוציאו על נשמתה ואחר שעברו קצת ימים ומצאתי

90 שהיה עת בצורת והעניים בצער אמרתי לכ׳ ולר׳ משה הנה הגיע

91 עת לעשות ל[30]) והוא היה אומר הוצאתים בעניינים אחרים ונשמט

92 מכאן ומכאן ועכשו[29] בדברים הוכחתיו מה עשית ממעות של אשה זו עניה והוא

93 השיב הקהל נתנו לי והם לקחוהו ממני ובאמת שלא ידע בזה שום אדם

94 חוץ מן הנזכרים וגם הקרתי מגדולי הקהל ונשבעו שלא ידעו בדבר זה למעלה כ׳פרין ור׳ יוסף מצרי

95 מעולם ואלולי שגילוי דברים אלו יגיע מהם נזק לרבים מן הגוים לא הייתי

96 שותק ממנו והייתי עושה זה להציל נפשי מעלבון העניה בעלת המעות

97 וימחול לי מעלת אדוני שהלאיתיך והערחתי על כבודך ברוב דברים אנה

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[25] Supply ה.

[26] Arabic, meaning some article of personal adornment.

[27] Psalm cxix, 126. [28] This phrase is in Arabic.

[29] Added above the line in the same hand.

[30] Added above the line in a different hand.

80 for me with it that which will help my soul." But, since I had sworn not to accept them, I went
81 with him to Rabbi Moses, the dayyān; and we sent for the honorable, wise [and] perfect Rabbi Perez(?);
82 and Rabbi Joseph told them of the matter, and [also] that I did not wish to accept [the money]. Then the honorable Rabbi Perez said:
83 "Since the woman did not wish [anyone] but you [to have the money], what do you wish to do with this money, after
84 you have sworn that you will not accept it?" I said to him: "My wish is that it shall be upon deposit with the honorable Rabbi Moses, [the][25] dayyān;
85 and whatever we shall perceive to bring profit to the soul of the poor woman who is departed, we shall do [by using some] of it,
86 with the advice of us all." And we agreed upon this. And then the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the physician, brought out the money; and their number
87 was found [to be] thirty gold-pieces, fair and good, less one. And he brought out three folded
88 discs[26] [of] refined silver. And he swore that this was what the deceased woman had sent by his hand
89 in good faith, for him to give me, to expend for the sake of her soul. And after a few days had passed, and I found
90 that it was a time of scarcity and [that] the poor [were] in distress, I said to the honorable Rabbi [Perez?] and to Rabbi Moses: "Behold the time
91 has come for the Lord to work[27]." But he kept saying: "I have spent it for other poor people; and it has been expended
92 in this place and that[28] in [different] undertakings[29]." And now I called him to account, [saying]: "What have you done with the money of this poor woman?" But he
93 [merely] answered: "The congregation gave it to me, and they have taken it from me." But the truth [is] that no man knew [anything] about this,
94 excepting those mentioned—beyond the honorable Rabbi Perez, and Rabbi Joseph [the] Egyptian[30]. And I have also made inquiry of the important persons of the congregation; and they have sworn that they never knew [anything] about this
95 matter. And had it not been that a divulgence of these matters would have brought injury to many at the hands of the gentiles, I should not have been
96 silent about it; but I should have done this to release myself from the reproach of the poor woman, the owner of the money.
97 But his Eminence, my Lord, will forgive me that I have wearied you[31] and taxed[32] your Honor with [the burden of hearing] many words about various matters;

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[31] I.e. "him" etc.

[32] For הערכתי. Ashkenazic pronunciation of ח?

98 ואנה כי מרוב שיחי וכעסי דברתי עד הנה ״ ובמָטו ממעלתך ארוני שתברך
99 את קרובי כ״ר יוסף אסכנדראני ואחיו על כל טוב שגמלני ואתה שלום
ושואלש
100 יוסף בר אברהם זלהה נכתב שבת והיית לנו לעינים

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101 אנו החתומים למטה · צעירי תלמידיך קטני עבדיך מנשקים עפר ארץ
102 לפני יקר כבודיך ומודיעים אנו למעלתך איך אנו לומדים תורה וכל
103 עסקינו בה בגמרא לפני רבינו החתום למעלה ואין אנו כזולתינו פעם
104 רוחשים ופעמים מחשים אלא בכל יום תמיד אנו קובעים לתורה עתים
105 ואין לרבינו הנזכר למעלה מן התלמוד בטלה · לא כמו שעושה כ״ר משה
106 שיוצא לכפרים להביא דבש הדבורים שלו ופנים יוצא להביא תירושו
107 ויצהרו וכרמלו ובגזירתו מקל עול מעל הלומדים לפניו מהארנוניות
108 ומעול מלכיות וליקט אליו עם שלו קצת אנשים שאינם בעלי שכל וסברא
109 כגון מבארך בן עדואן וזאהי ומעתוק וכיוצא באלו ופוטר אותם ומעמיס
110 עלינו ואדוני ישאל בעד אלו וכיוצא בהם מהחכם כ״ר נסים והוא יגיד
מה שהן
111 יודעין והלואי שיהיו הכל פטורין ולא יתנו העומס עלינו ״ וכשבא
112 כ״ר שמואל מסעוד לצפת אמר משם מעלתך שכל מי שעוסק בתורה
113 מסייעו אדונינו הנגיד ירום הודו והוגד לנו שעשה סייוע לספרדיים
114 ולא עשה שום סייוע לעבדיך המסתערביים ואנו החתומים למטה
115 עם היות שיש ממנו עומדים לפני המלכות וממנו מטופלים בבני בית
116 אין אנו מניחין הלימוד תמיד בתלמוד אבל אי אפשר לנו להיות יושבים

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[33] I Samuel i, 16. [34] ושואל בישלומך.
[35] זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא. [36] Numbers x, 31.
[37] Arabic for Baruch, "Blessed." [38] "Hostility" (?).
[39] "Brilliant." Cf. *Glanz*, *Finkelstein*, etc. [40] "Freedman."
[41] Aramaized Hebrew, and confused. [42] בשם ?
[43] The 2nd and 3rd persons are confused.
[44] An Arabic word with a Hebrew plural ending.

98 "for out of the abundance of my complaint and my provocation have I spoken hitherto[33]." And [I beg] as a favor from your Eminence, my Lord, that you will greet

99 my kinsman, the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī, and his brothers, [and bless him] for every good thing which he has done for me. And [to] you: Farewell! And the one who greets you[34] [is]

100 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his memory [be] eternal life[35]! Written [upon] the sabbath of the [Scripture reading:] "And thou shalt be to us instead of eyes[36]."

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101 We, whose names are signed below, the youngest of your students, the least of your servants, kiss the dust of the ground

102 before the Dignity of your Honor. And we [beg to] inform your Eminence how we are studying the Law, and of all

103 our activities in the Gemara, with our master whose name is signed above. We are not like the others: at one time

104 working, and [many] times doing nothing; but every day without exception we set apart hours for [studying] the Law.

105 Nor does our master, mentioned above, have any leisure from teaching. [He does] not [do] as the honorable Rabbi Moses does, [at one time]

106 going forth to the villages to bring in the honey of his bees, and [at another] time going forth to bring in his new wine

107 and his oil and his grain, and by his decree relieving students under his instruction from taxes[3]

108 and from the burden of the royal levies. And [Rabbi Moses] has selected people who belong to him: a parcel of men possessing no intelligence or understanding,

109 as, for example, Mubārak[37] Ibn 'Udwān[38], and Zāhī[39], and Ma'tūḳ[40], and the like of these. And he lets them go free while laying burdens

110 upon us. And let my Lord inquire concerning these [men] and the like of them, from the wise, the honorable Rabbi Nissīm; and he will tell what they

111 know[41]. But oh that all [of us] were free, and that the oppressor were not placed over us! And when the honorable

112 Rabbi Samuel Mas'ūd came to Safed, he said, in the name[42] of your Excellency, that everyone who occupied himself with the Law

113 should receive assistance from our Lord the Nāgīd—May his glory be exalted!—But we have been told that he has given help to the Spanish [Jews],

114 and has given no help to his[43] servants the Arabized [Jews][44]. And we, the undersigned,

115 in spite of the fact that [some] of us stand before Royalty[45], and [some] of us have dependent children,

116 never cease at all to study the Talmud. But it is not possible for us to be sitting

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[45] They were in military service?

117 תמיד על הספר אבל יש בנו מי שעדיין לא יטפלפל כך ואלו מצא עזר לעצמו

118 היה מועיל יהיו נא עיני אדוני פקוחות על עבדיך הסרים למשמעתך

119 המתפללים לְךָ. תמיד בעד שלותך ימיך יאריכו וחייך ימשכו ויגיעו

120 לימי אדונינו המלך המשיח שיגלה בזכותך במהרה בזמן קריב ובעגלה אגם.

121 חייה בר׳ שמואל כהן נ״ע חייא בכ״ר משה כהן ס״ט

122 עובדיה ב״ר שמואל נ״ע מצליח ב״ר שמואל כהן נ״ע

123 יוסף בר׳ אברהם כהן נ״ע יוסף בכ״ר אהרן ס״ט שמואל ב״ר יעקב ס״ט הבך

124 שמואל בר׳ חלפון הלוי נ״ת הלל בר׳ אברהם נ״ע

125 כהן אלעלמאני

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126 והנה אני החותם שמי מטה העלוב מיסורי הזמן מפני שאני נחפז ללכת לעיר מולדתי דמשק

127 לא מצאה ידי לכתוב למעלת אדוננו שירום הודו ויגדל כבודו כתב כפי הראוי אמנם אגיד צערי

128 ומה שקרא לי עם כבוד הריין הנזכר כי זה פעמים שלש שבאתי מדמשק לדור בארץ הקדושה

129 ועל אודות צער שמגיע לי ממנו יצאתי מצפת כמה מצרים וצערים הגיעו לי על ידו כי

130 כן משפטו להצר לכל בעלי תורה וסברא למען לא יקרא בשם חכם זולתו לבדו והנה בתחלת

131 ענייני[קשה] על רבו שלמדו תורה קשר קל[רב קשה] וחומר על אחרים כי רבו היה כ״ר אברהם פתילה זלה״ה

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[46] For יתפלפל.

[47] Cf. Jeremiah xxxii, 19.

[48] Cf. the unintelligible passage in I Samuel xxii, 14, which the Revised Version translates badly: "and is taken into thy council."

[49] A very strange sign in the text.

[50] Aramaic בַּעֲגָלָא.

[51] אמן נצח סלה. [52] נוחו עדן. These were dead.

[53] סופו טוב. These were still living. [54] "Successful."

[55] Not an abbreviation, as we see from the form of ך.

[56] נפשו בטוב תלין ויתברך.

117 forever at the Book! There are among us some who do not yet argue[46] [points] so [well]. But if [such a one] found help for himself
118 it would help others. May the eyes of my Lord be open upon his[43] servants[47] who turn when they hear him,[43,48]
119 who pray to God[49] continually for his[43] peace of mind: May your days be long, and may your life stretch out and touch
120 the days of our Lord, the King, the Messiah, who [we pray] may be revealed through your merit soon, in a time near at hand, and in haste[50]! Amen! Forever! Selah[51]! [Signed:]
121 Ḥiyyāh, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden[52]! Ḥiyyā, son of the honorable Rabbi Moses Kōhēn—[May] his end [be] good[53]!
122 Obadiah, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden! Maṣlīaḥ[54], son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden!
123 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden! Joseph, son of Rabbi Aaron—[May] his end [be] good! Samuel, son of Rabbi Jacob—[May] his end [be] good!.....[55]
124 Samuel, son of Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī—May his soul rest in good, and be blessed[56]! Hillēl, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his rest [be] in Eden!
125 Kōhēn the German[57].

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126 Behold I, who have signed my name below, [a man] afflicted by the visitations of the times, because I was in haste to go to Damascus, the city of my nativity,
127 did not find [opportunity] to write to the Eminence of our Lord—May his glory be exalted, and his honor be magnified—a letter according to propriety. [Yet now] in truth I shall tell of my suffering
128 and of what befell me in connection with the honorable dayyān [above] mentioned: for it [is now] three times that I have come from Damascus to dwell in the Holy Land,
129 and have left Safed because of trouble which overtook me through him. How many troubles and afflictions have overtaken me at his hands! For
130 such is his manner of oppressing all the masters of the Law and of tradition to the end that [no one] shall be called by the appellation "wise" except himself only. And behold, in the beginning of
131 his affair[58] he conspired against his rabbi, who had taught him the Law, in a great conspiracy. How much more then did he conspire against others! For his rabbi was the honorable Rabbi Abraham Pethīlāh[59]—May his memory endure unto the life of the World to Come[60]!—

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[57] The modern Arabic word for "German," with the Arabic article. He is not merely an אישכנזי, but comes from Germany itself. He does not give his father's name, and may be a recent arrival.

[58] עִנְיָנוֹ "incumbency." [59] "Wick."

[60] זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא

132 יצא מן העולם והוא מצטער ממנו על זה יאמר אשרי מי שרוח הבריות
נוחה הימנו וישאל

133 מעלת אדוני ענייני מן הבריות ועתה איני יודע מה לעשות כי באתי
בנדר ובשבועה על

134 עצמי לבוא לדור בארץ הקדושה כי כך מנהג אבותי שנפטרו לחיי עד
כשמזקינים באים

135 באים לארץ ישראל להיות קולטתן מחיים וזה רוצה לגרשני ממנה
שבכל עת שאני חוזר לדמשק

136 מגיע לי צער ונזק והולי בעון הנדר והשבועה ולעולם לא גמלתי לו
רעה אלא אדרבה נשתדלתי

137 בעניינו כששלח לדמשק ולכל הגלילות לקבץ מעות על שם הישיבה
אז עמדתי באהבה וחיבה

138 ומשכתי את הקהל במתק אהבה ודרשתי בכל קהלות דמשק ועשו נדבה
בשביל

139 ישיבת התורה שנים עשר זהובים וכן משפטי לכל עובר ויושב[??] לאמין את
הנכשל וכן

140 בכל עת ועת שהיה שולח אני הייתי משתדל לעשות רצונו לחיבת
התורה ולומדיה ולחיבת

141 הדרים בארץ וזה תחת אהבתי ישטנני תחת רדפי טוב חפץ יקטלני
ואעפ שבני אדם

142 באים וצועקים ממעשיו לפני אני גוער בהם ומכללם אשה דלה ענייה
ואלמנה וברחה

143 מדמשק מהחובות שעליה ובאה לדור בצפת ונשקה אדם אחד ונתן לה
חמשים כספים

144 ממטבע דמשק ולא עלה זיווגם יפה וגרשה בימים מעטים קיבל ממנה ר׳
משה בכתובה

145 ובגט ששה ושלשים כספים וחבל בגד האלמנה עד שקיבל הששה ושלשים
נשארו בידה

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[61] Mishnah iii, 10: "Every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] its rest. And every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] not its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] not its rest." In the present case: "Blessed is the man who is beloved on earth, for he is assuredly beloved in Heaven." Rabbi Moses was not one of these.

[62] Word repeated.

132 [Rabbi Abraham] departed this world [much] grieved with him. To this [the Mishna] says: "Blessed is he in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest[61]." And his Eminence, my Lord,

133 asks [about] his dealings with men: I know not what to do now; for I came, under a vow and an oath [which I had taken] upon

134 myself, to go to dwell in the Holy Land—for thus [was] the custom of my fathers who have gone to eternal life, that when they became old they went[62]

135 to the Land of Israel in order that it might receive us [under its protection] while still living[63]. And this [man] wishes to drive me from it. For every time I return to Damascus

136 trouble and misfortune and sickness overtake me because of the sin of the [unfulfilled] vow and oath. And yet I never did him any wrong; but, on the contrary, I exerted myself[64]

137 in his undertaking, when he sent to Damascus and to all the [neighboring] districts, to collect funds in the name of the Academy. At that time I stood in love and affection,

138 and I drew the congregation [after me] with the sweetness of love[65]; and I preached in all the congregations of Damascus; and they gave alms in the cause of

139 the Academy of the Law: twelve gold-pieces. And this is my manner toward everyone transient and resident: to strengthen him who has stumbled. And thus,

140 on each occasion when he sent [solicitors], I exerted myself to do his will, for love of the Law and its teachers, and for love

141 of those who dwell in the [Holy] Land. But this man, instead of [requiting] my love, antagonised me; instead of [emulating] my pursuit of good, desired to kill me. And although[66] men

142 come and cry aloud of his deeds before me, I rebuke them. And of all [the complaints, I mention particularly] a woman, poor, destitute, and widowed, a fugitive

143 from Damascus, on account of the debts which she owed. And she had come to dwell in Safed; and a certain man kissed her[67] and gave her fifty pieces of silver

144 of the Damascus mint. But their marriage did not turn out well, and he divorced her after a few days. Rabbi Moses took from her for the marriage contract

145 and for the letter of divorce thirty-six pieces of silver. And he took the widow's clothing as security[68], until he should receive the thirty-six. [Thus] she had left

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[63] *Kethūbhōth* 111a, cited by Levy, *op. cit.*: אינו דומה קולטתו מחיים לקולטתו לאחר מיתה "He whom [Palestine] receives while living, is not to be compared to him whom it receives after his death."

[61] For השתדלתי? [65] נת was written, but deleted. [66] ואף על פי ש.

[67] I.e. "married her"? The word has been corrected by the scribe.

[68] Cf. Deuteronomy xxiv, 17.

146 ארבעה עשר כספים למוקדם ולמאוחר הן אלה קצות דרכיו וכאלה רבים
ועם כל זה לעולם

147 לא הכנסתי עצמי בשום דבר מענייניו מלבד שיש לו תלמיד אחד לר׳
משה הנזכ

148 מכפר יאסיף והוא דר בעין אלזיתון ולמד עליו הלכות שחיטה וכששמעתי
מדמשק

149 מכר יוסף סרקוסי ומר שמואל בהלול ומזולתם על אודות השוחט הנזכר
שיצאו עליו

ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי זלחע

150 דבות רבות ועמד החכם והסכים עליו שלא יהא שוחט ובודק ומוכר
לעצמו כי הבהמות

151 שלו וממנו יתר וממנו פינה כאלו בידו עדות נעמנה לטבוח ולבדוק
ולמכור עד שמחמת

152 זה כל אנשי עין אלזיתון ואנשי ביריא וצפת מרננים עליו ומדברים אחריו
שלא יצא

153 מבהמותיו כי אם מעט טרפות וכשראה החכם ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי הנזכר
ענייני גזר

154 שלא יאכל שום אדם משחיטתו עד שיעמידו עליו איש נאמן על השחיטה
ועל הבדיקה

155 אעפ שעם היות עד אחד נאמן באסורים זה נחשד מכמה דברים מוסף
על היות

156 שמגיע לו נזק בעת שתעלה הבהמה טרפה שאינו מוכר אותה בחצי דמי
הכשרה

157 אחר שנפטר החכם ר׳ יוסף סרכוסי זלח החזירו ר׳ משה להיותו נאמן
על עצמו מבלי

158 שיעמיד אחד עמו וכשראיתי שהדברים מגיע מהם נזק גדול לנפשות
ישראל כי כל

159 שלשה עיירות אוכלים משחיטתו אמרתי לר׳ משה שאין ראוי שזה יהיה
נאמן לעצמו כי

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[69] הנזכר.

[70] See Baedeker, *Palästina* (1910), p. 250. [71] See *ibid.* p. 242.

[72] "of Saragossa." A Rabbi Joseph Saragossī reorganised the Safed community in 1492 (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s.v.* Safed). Our Moses succeeded Joseph (line 157), and must have been the elder Moses di Trani, Rabbi of Safed, 1525–1535, according to *J. E.*, *s.v.* Trani.

146 [only] fourteen pieces of silver as the former and latter [marriage gifts]. Behold, these are some of his ways; and [there are] many [others] like them. And in spite of all this never

147 have I involved myself in any of his affairs, except [in one case]. The [above-]mentioned[69] Rabbi Moses had a student

148 from Kafr Yāsīf[70], and he lives in 'Ain al-Zaitūn[71], and he taught him the laws of slaughtering [animals]. And according to what I have heard from Damascus,

149 from the honorable Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī[72] and from Rabbi Samuel Bahlūl[73] and from others, about the [above-]mentioned butcher, there went forth against him

150 many evil reports; and the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting life!—stood up and agreed [with those] against him, that he should not be[74] butcher and inspector and retailer for himself. For the cattle

151 [were] his own; and he sometimes allowed to pass, and sometimes condemned—as if [indeed] he possessed "sure testimony[75]" to slaughter, and inspect, and sell—until, on account of

152 this, all the men of 'Ain al-Zaitūn and the men of Bīria(?)[76] and Safed spoke evil against him, and said concerning him that only a few

153 of his animals turned out [to be ritually] unclean. And when the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī, [above] mentioned, saw his doings, he decreed

154 that no man should eat of his slaughter[ed animals] until [the authorities] appointed over him a trustworthy man for the slaughtering and for the inspection.

155 And, although[66] for prohibitions[77] one witness is trusted, this [man] was suspected, for many reasons, even of being [such that],

156 when a loss accrued to him on the occasion of an animal's turning out [to be ritually] unclean, that he would[78] sell it for half the price of a [ritually] clean [one].

157 After the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī departed [this life]—[May] his memory [be] for [everlasting] life!—Rabbi Moses again made him responsible for himself, without

158 his appointing anyone [to serve] with him. And when I saw that great loss would result to the souls of Israel—for all

159 three cities[79] eat of his slaughter[ed animals]—I said to Rabbi Moses that it is not proper that this [man] should be responsible for himself; for

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[73] "Laughing." [74] For יהי?

[75] Cf. Psalm xix, 8.

[76] Some unidentified village very near to Safed. It could not, of course, be al-Bīrah near Rāmallāh, in the south.

[77] The community could usually trust anyone to report uncleanliness in the common food supply, and one objection was sufficient to cause prohibition.

[78] Literally: "was suspected.....that he would not."

[79] I.e. Safed, 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and Bīria(?).

160 בסבת זה יש רינון על כבודך ועליו כי כל נתח טוב וכל ירך וכתף קורא
אותו על שמך

161 ואם לא תעמיד עליו נאמן יהיה רינון וחילול על התורה וכל שכן שקדם
לזה תקנה

162 מרבי יוסף סרכוסי מבשר שהוא מוכר (שאסר לאכול) עד שיעמידו עליו בודק נאמן ואיך
נהרוס

163 מה שבנה החכם הנפטר זלה"ה ולא רצה ר' משה לתקן והלכתי לעין אל
זיתון וחקרתי

164 על הענין ושלח ר' משה הסכמה בכח כל מי שיש יודע לשוחט הנזכר
שום קלקול או

165 בלבול מענייני השחיטה והבדיקה ויגיד לי וכאלה רבות יכלה הזמן והם
לא יכלו ומפני

166 שאני נחפז ללכת לדמשק לא ספרתי אחת מני אלף ואם יישר[81] זה בעיני
מ֗ור הנה מה

167 טוב אבל הלילה והם ומצד קנאתו ממני מנעני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי
ועכשיו אם טוב

168 בעיני אדוני שיבטלני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי עלי לקבל גזרתך ואין
להאריך כי אם בשלומך·

169 שיגדל לעד ואל יחדל כחפצך וחפין הנרצע לאהבתך ומתפלל תמיד
בעד שלומך

170 ומצפה לתשובתך ישמעאל בר יה[ודה] זלה"ה

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[80] Cf. Ezekiel xxiv, 4.

[81] At the beginning of line 166 there is a ח or an א.

[82] The word was misspelled, deleted, and then written above the line.

160 on account of this there is evil comment against your Honor and against him, since he names "every good piece," and every "thigh and shoulder[80]" with your name.

161 And, if you do not appoint over him a trustworthy [person] there will be criticism and desecration of the Law—all the more, [indeed], since an order from Rabbi Joseph

162 Sarakossī has already been [issued], which forbids [us] to eat of the flesh which that [man] sells, until [the authorities] appoint over him a trustworthy inspector. How shall we destroy

163 what the wise [man] has built, [who is] departed!—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting [life]! But Rabbi Moses did not wish to restore [order]; so, I went to 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and I investigated

164 the affair. And Rabbi Moses sent out an opinion with [some] vehemence: "Anyone who knew, [with reference] to the [above-]mentioned butcher, any injuri[ous rumor] or

165 slander, respecting the matters of slaughter and inspection, and told [it] to me—!" And [there are] many [other cases] like these. Time may pass away, but they will not pass away. But because[81]

166 I am in haste to go to Damascus, I have not recounted one out of a thousand. And if this [conduct] is right in the eyes of my Lord and Master[82], then what [is the]

167 good [of my protest]! But God forbid! Because of his jealousy of me [this man] has prevented me[83] from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me. And now, if [it be] good

168 in the eyes of my Lord that [this man] keep me from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me—it is for me to accept your decision, and not to continue [this letter] except in [wishing] your prosperity.

169 That it may increase forever, and languish never, as is your wish, and the wish of [him who is] the object of your affection, and who prays unceasingly for your prosperity,

170 and who awaits your answer, Ishmael, son of Rabbi J[udah?][84]—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting life!

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[83] מרי ואדוני.

[84] The last name is written as a monogram, and there is a break in the paper just at this point.

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[1] Arranged according to the order of the Latin alphabet. Incomplete names, such as "Jacob," have not been included. Names have their English forms whenever possible.

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